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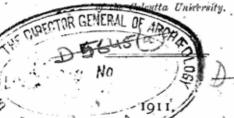
WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

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BY

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MAHARAJA

SRI-RAMACHANDRA BHANJA DEO

Feudatory Chief

MAYURABHANJA,

WHOSE EARNEST DEVOTION

IN THE CAUSE OF

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

IS JUSTLY ADMIRED BY ALL,

THIS TREATISE,

the outcome of investigations initiated and maintained by his munificience sympathetic encouragement, is respectfuly dedicated

BY THE AUTHOR

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PREFACE.

In November 1908, I was required to accompany the Feudatory Chief of Mayurabhanja on an Archaeological tour in the interior of his territories. We paid a visit to Khiching, which was once an important seat of the Bhañja Rājās. I mixed with the humble people of the neighbouring villages, and from this close contact with them observed some curious customs and manners amongst them which bear little affinity to those of the Hindus. At this stage a band of merry lads of the Pan caste entertained me with their songs, which were all upon the texts of the Dharmagītā. The songs interested me very much, as in the texts I found distinct indications of the tenets of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Shortly after this I met some old men, who recited the songs of the Pāla Kings of Bengal. These also belong to the period of the Buddhistic ascendancy. I was now convinced that Buddhism was not altogether a lost religion in Orissa. My curiosity being thus roused, I hunted after and soon laid my hands upon some old Oriyā MSS. which proved that Buddhism flourished in this part of the country so late as the 16th and 17th centuries. I now studied with care the sacred books of the Mahimā-dharmists and some other sects, who inhabit Khiching and various parts of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and other gadajāts; and found that these people unmistakably profess Buddhistic tenets inspite of their not being recognised as Buddhists by the people. In

comparatively recent times there has been a

revival of this school of Buddhism.

The subject of the book has already been incorporated in my Mayūrabhañja Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. I. I now publish it separately with a preface by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri M.A., whose researches in this direction 20 years ago brought to the notice of the world for the first time, the existence of Buddhism in modern Bengal. My researches and the results attained thereby only substantiate and supplement his theories and conclusions arrived at from a different stand-point. My grateful acknowledgements are due to him not only for the learned introduction with which he has embellished this treatise, but for the light which his original researches threw on my subsequent work in the same field.

I have also to express my indebtedness to H. H. the Chief of Mayurabhañja. Without his aid and encouragement it would have been impossible for me to conduct these arduous researches in the jungly tracts of Mayūrabhanja.

I am also thankful to my friend Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen for his ready suggestions whenever

I have had to consult him.

Since writing the book, I have come in possession of a number of Oriyā MSS, which elaborately prove the facts to be found in this book. If a second edition is called for, I shall incorporate these in the book next time.

20, Kantapukar Lane, Bagbazar, NAGENDRA NATH VASU. Calcutta, June 21st, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION.

'Çankarāchārya drove away Buddhism from the soil of India'. This was the verdict of historians, sixty years ago. Buddhism—the religion of over forty per cent of the entire population of the world, professed in all countries, in the north, east and south of Asia, was swept away from its birth place by the exertions of one single individual!

These historians, however, plainly contradicted themselves, for when they said that, 'Caykarā-chārya drove away Buddhism from the soil of India,' they also said that the Pālas, who reigned in India in the 9th and 10th centuries were Buddhists. This is a pure contradiction for no body ever imagined that Caykarāchārya flourished after the fall of the Pāla Dynasty.

The sixties and the seventies were periods of the greatest activity for Archaeological researches under Sir Alexander Cunningham. His researches, his excavations, and his discoveries all over Northern India, showed in unmistakable terms that Buddhism lingered in many parts of Northern India for hundred years after the Muhammadan conquest.

From the early eighties commenced the minute and scholarly investigations in all matters that related to India, both in Europe and in this country. The credit of initiating this ac-

curate and sympathetic movement belongs to Hofrath Bühler. He and his numerous followers investigated very carefully all the available sources of information about India and then pronounced their opinions. The late lamented Prof. Bendal examined the wonderful collection of Palm-leaf Mss. in the University of Cambridge and found that many of them belonged to the Pāla period. Babu Carat Chandra Dās travelled in Tibet and showed from Tibetan sources that a large number of Pandits, especially, from Eastern India, went to Tibet in the Pāla period.

Amongst other facts that were brought to light, the chief were that ;-a Buddhist temple was erected at Cravasti in the year 1276 A. D.; Buddhist priests from Tamluk went to the Pagan and reformed the Buddhist church there; the Budh-Gaya temple was repaired by the King of Burma in 1331 A. D.; Buddhist books were studied in Bengal even by Brahmins in the earlier years of the 15th century; Buddhist books were copied for Buddhist priests and laity during the middle of that century; about the end of the century a Bengali Brahmin of the Kātvāyana Gotra who was expelled from his country for his Buddhistic tendencies, was made Bauddhāgama Chakravarti in Ceylon and a biographer of Chaitanya said that at the birth of the infant God, Buddhists rejoiced greatly.

So traces of Buddhism in Eastern India were discernible up to the time of Chaitanya *i.e.*, the early part of the sixteenth century.

About the end of the sixteenth century Lama:

Tāranātha, sent emissaries to India, to examine the state of Buddhism in that country. These reported that Buddhism was still to be found in Orissa and Western Bengal. But where is all that Buddhism gone?

The Muhammadan historians never speak of Buddhism; the historians of Mughal period do not even know its name. The historians of the British power in India, refers but scarcely to Buddhism. Where is all that Buddhism gone?

Yuan Chuang tells us that there were ten thousand Sayghārāmas with hundred thousand Bhiksus in Bengal. To support this vast mendicant population at least ten millions of lay families were required, and they would be all Buddhists. The Chinese pilgrim further says that there were also heretics in the country, by which term he means the Brahminists and the Jainists. The number of Brahminists in Bengal was very limited. The Jains never made Bengal their stronghold. More than three-fourths of the population of Bengal were Buddhists.

Full one hundred years after Yuan Chuang, the original five progenitors of the present Rāḍhiya and Vārendra Brāhmans in Bengal came from Kanoj. Their religion was not a proselytising one. In the middle of the twelfth century Ballāla Sena took a census of the descendants of these five Brahmins and he found only eight hundred families in all. They lived mostly on grants of lands made to them by the Rājās or by fees for services rendered to the State. Servants and maid-servants were supplied to them by the

State. They practised their own religious rites with pomp and grandeur befitting their position as well-to-do men. But they rarely interfered with other people's religion. History tells us of defections from their ranks but of no additions to their strength. The masses were almost entirely left in the hands of the Buddhist priests, both married and unmarried, and there is reason to suppose that the married priests predominated in number. But the monastic orders were rich and powerful. They were very learned and their schools and colleges were celebrated all over the Buddhist world. The Monastaries of Nālanda, Vikramaçila, Jagaddala and other places were the best seminaries for the diffusion of Buddhist learning and Buddhist religion. It was from these monastaries that Tibet, Burma, Cevlon and Mangolia received their Buddhist preachers and Buddhist authors and translators.

But there were the married priests who officiated in the religious ceremonies of their lay brethern; these composed the litergy, worshipped Bodhisattvas and Gods, and officiated in marriages and funerals. They gradually introduced mantras or set formulæ for every religious ceremony and called this cult, Mantrayāna.

The word Mantrayāna requires an explanation. People are familiar with the terms Hīnayāna, and Mahāyāna, but not with Mantrayāna. Hīnayāna, though a proselytising religion, concerned itself only with moral training and moral regulations, and thought only of individual salvation, while

Mahāvāna embodying the highest and noblest truths of philosophy and religion, extended salvation to all classes of men and like the Theosophists of the present day, comprehended within its fold men of all shades or opinion and faith. But is it possible for ordinary people to comprehend the noble truths of philosophy which required close study for years? Certainly not. What sort of Mahayanists were the ordinary people then? These implicity believed in the superior talents of their masters, followed the course of conduct chalked out for them by them, repeated the vows and hymns which appeared most sacred to them, and studied the short works called Dharanis invoking the spirit of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and of the truths formulated in standard philosophical and religious works. There are more than six hundred Dharanis extant. The higher and more ancient class of these gives the pith of the noble works produced by the masters. But the lower and more modern class of these invokes the protecting Bodhisattvas and guardian deities for the attainment of worldly objects.

Gradually the language of these Dhāranis became antiquated, and difficult of comprehension, so Mantras were substituted for them. They were something like algebraical expressions of the Dhāranīs. How the Mantras were formed from the letters of Indian alphabets is a curious study by itself. It would be out of place to speak of them here. The Mantras were given to the ignorant laity. The repetition of the Mantras was considered equally efficacious with

the study of the deeper problems of life. This is Mantrayāna. Yuan Chuang saw little of it in India in the 7th century. It flourished in the subsequent times. Then it was superseded by another and more attractive form of religion, half mystic, half philosophical and more sensual, than the previous forms of Buddhism. This is called Vajrayāna

How Vajrayāna arose from Mahāyāna is clearly indicated in the works of Vajrayāna literature. The human soul bent upon the attainment of the highest knowledge progresses from the lower regions of earth to the higher, till all flesh disappears and it rises above the world of $K\bar{a}ma$ to the world of $R\bar{u}pa$ or form. The mind bent upon Bodhi passes on through a variety of forms till it reaches the highest of the $R\bar{n}pa$ heavens, still Bodhi is not attained. It goes higher and higher to the region where form does not exist. This is called the Arūpaloka or the formless world. In its progress higher and higher in this formless world it rises to the top and vanishes in the infinite void. That is the idea of Nirvāņa of the Mahāyānists, but the Vajrayānists at this stage mystically conceives the existences of Nirātmā Devī at the top of the formless (Arūpa) heaven. She seems to all intents and purposes a metaphor for the infinite void. From the top of the formless world the mind bent on Bodhi leapes into the embrace of Nirātmā Devī and enjoys something like the pleasures of the senses, and disappears in her, as salt disappears in water. Thus Vajrayana is a curious mixture of mysticism, philosophy and sensuality. The

sensual part of this doctrine made it exceedingly attractive and soon superseded the dry Mantrayāna and the difficult Mahāyāna.

In a work entitled Adikarmarachana by Tatakara Gupta, embodying the doctrines of Subhākara Gupta, a distinguished professor of the Vikramaçilā monastery we find a complete account of the daily duties of a Buddhist of the Mantrayāna school. In that book we are told that Mahāyāna has already become one of the Sikṣāpadas or vows or sacraments. It is no longer the school of philosophy studied with care for years but a set of religious ceremonies by which in a moment all the benefits of that patient study are supposed to be attained. Mantrayana too has become a sacrament. This book was written in the ninth century A.D. or earlier. In modern times the Nepal Vajrayānists (none of whom lead a monastic celebate life), considered Vajrayāna to be the last sacrament after which they can seek female company for the practice of religion. They do not call it marriage exactly, but something like taking a Cakti. From the sketch given above, it will be seen how in India the great religion of Buddha rose to the soaring height of metaphysical speculations and how the necessity of keeping within its fold a vast number of ignorant lay people made it climb down to the Dhāranis, to the Mantrayāna, and to the Vajrayāna. The spread of the religion to people of even lower strata brought in the Kalachakrayana. Dr. Waddel considers Kālachakrayāna to be prior to Vajrayāna, but this is opposed to all Indian tradition. The Nepal Buddhism, as apart from Lamaism, is still

Vajrayāna in the main, having only a small sprinkling of Kālachakravāna. But what is Kālachakrayāna? The word Kāla means time, death, and destruction. Kālachakra is the wheel of destruction, and Kalachakravana means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction. Waddel describes this as demonology, or devil-worship, and so it is. Even Buddha is a demon, and in the Asiatic Society's library there is a book entitled Buddha-Charita which describes Buddha as demon. Though the book was written in Ferok Shere's time at Benares, it certainly embodies much older tradition. Bibhūti Chandra of Jagaddala Vihāra who was a great master of Kālachakrayāna, flourished in the 13th century. Unless Buddha was mentioned in Kālachakrayāna, one would be inclined not to call it Buddhism at all.

Thus we have briefly indicated how Buddhism degenerated, from its great philosophical and speculative height, even to demonology. But there were other forms of religions which the Buddhist community gradually absorbed within itself. One of these is the Nathamarga or Nathism. The leaders of this sect were Nāthas who practised a form of Yoga much inferior to that taught by Buddha or by Patanjali, both of whom considered the concentration of the mind to one definite point as the chief process to attain salvation; but the Nathas tried to restrict the internal air and to lead it from what they called Mūlādhāra below the abdomen to the forehead, and attain success (Siddhi) in the world rather than salvation. Many Nathas

are mentioned. They are also called Yogis. They came from outside Buddhism; one of the principal Nāthas is Matsyendranātha or Machchhaghnapāda. A book attributed to him has been found written in the 10th century character. It is not a Buddhist book, yet Machchhendranātha is worshipped as an incarnation of Avalokiteçvara at Pātan; the Buddhists of Nepal all attend the festival held in his honour. A Machhaghna or fisherman cannot be a Buddhist because he is a habitual animal-killer and Tatakara expressly excluded Kaivarttas from the pale of Buddhism. Thus the Nathism of Matsyendra arose outside Buddhism, but was at last absorbed into it. On the other hand Ramana-Vajra was a Buddhist of the Vajravāna school, but when he became a Nātha, he became Goraksanātha, and was regarded as a heretic by Buddhists, so Goraksa's Nāthism was originally within Buddhism, but it was not incorporated into it. It is said that of the seven Nathas. Goraksa was the only heretic.

In the 9th century sprang the sect of Sahajiyās who made salvation easy by reaching it through carnal enjoyments. How the sect arose is lost in obscurity, but it had so many features common with Vajrayāna, that it soon became absorbed in that system. The Sahajiyās found the great world i. c. the universe within the human body.

A great Sahajiyā exponent in Buddhism was Kṛṣṇāchārya or Kānhu who wrote both in Sanskrit and in Bengali. He is still worshipped in Tibet as a great wizard with a bald head and a flowing beard. Another exponent of the Sahajiyā sect of the Buddhist school was Lui, who is mentioned in Nagendra Bābu's "Modern Buddhism." His Bengali songs have been recently discovered, and goats are sacrificed to him in the Rādha country at the worship of Dharma on the fullmoon day of Vaiçākha. There are many other Sahajiyās who are worshipped in Tibet.

The Sahajiyās had three different ways of salvation, the Avadhūtī-mārga, the Cāṇḍālīmārga, and the Dombīmārga. In the Avadhūtī-mārga, the idea of duality is predominent. Avadhūti, though she lives apart, still mixes with people and therefore represents duality. The Chāṇḍālī lives apart but she has a community to mix with. She is therefore not so strong a representative of duality as Avadhūtī, but she is not yet absolutely one. But Dombī lives far away from the inhabited locality and has no society. Therefore to a Sahajiyā to go to the Dombī means to be absolutely undual.

TANTRA:—The word Tantra is very loosely used. Ordinary people understand by it any system other than the Vedas. But it really means the worship of Çakti or Female energy. The female energy is worshipped in conjunction with male energy. The union of male and female energy is the essence of Tantra.

Tantra came from outside India. Most likely it came with Magi priests of the Scythians. In the old Samhitās such as Nicvāsatattva Samhitā, a wonder is expressed at the novel mode of

initiation enjoined by the Tantras. Vedic initiation was known, but people wondered how could there be a new initiation other than Vedic. It came from outside India and spread on the outskirts of the Aryan world. The five original places of Tantra in India are Jālandhara, Punā, Çrīparvata, Odiāna and Kāmākhyā.

The Cakti-Sangama Tantra, a later work, declares that the object of that Tantra is to root out Buddhism and establish Brahminism, while Buddhist Tantras equally denounce Brahminism. The theory was current twenty years ago that the Brahmins derived their Tantras from the Buddhists, but of late it has been ascertained that neither did the Buddhists derive their form of Tantra from the Brahmins nor the Brahmins from the Buddhists. Both received their Tantras from the same source. But it spread more rapidly among the Buddhists than among the Brahminists. A popular religion like that propounded in the Tantras cannot but be attractive to the masses in Bengal and in Eastern India. where Buddhism prevailed. The Buddhist priests, especially the married classes, were not slow in taking advantage of this new form. The Tantras did not at first spread much among the Brahmins and their followers. It became in fact a recognised initiation only in the sixteenth century, and even then it was regarded as a subsidiary initiation designed more for the women and the Cudras who had no claim to the Vedic initiation. Practically the prevalence of the Tantric rites among the Brahminists was conterminous with the total

disappearance of Buddhism. Even in the very best of the Hindu Tantras we find the worship of many Bodhisattvas and gods and goddesses of the Buddhists. Maniucri of the Buddhists is worshipped as Mañjughosa. Aksobhya of the Buddhists is regarded either as a form of Civa or a Rsi to whom the Tārā-mantra was revealed. Ekajatā and Nīla-sarasvatī was bodily taken from Buddhism. The Bhūta-dāmara Tantra mentions the Bodhisattavas as objects of worship. One of the Hindu Tantras says that Vacistha was anxious to attain success or Siddhi in the Tārā mantra, but failed to do so in India. He had to travel all over the snowy mountains to China, where Buddha taught him how he could be an expert in that mantra. The Tantras, many of them at least, discard all the acharas prescribed by Brahmins and enjoin the āchāras of the Chinese. Even now the Tantric deities prefer to be worshipped by the lower castes than Brahmins. many localities Durgā is worshipped first by the untouchable classes and then by Brahmins. Brahmins have to wait in villages till the Pujā has commenced at some Hādi's house in the neighbourhood. Jayadratha-yāmāla says that the Devī likes to be worshipped by the oil-pressees, the Tailakāras. Three men in the sixteenth century man in the seventeenth Tantras popular with the Brahmins. These are Tripurānanda, Brahmānanda, Pūrņānanda and Krsnananda. The first three belong to Eastern Bengal and the last to Nadia. The Sarvavidya family of Jessore too did much

to popularise them in Central Bengal but at a later period than the others.

From all that has been said above it is apparent that in the twelfth century there were the following forms of religion in Bengal and in Eastern India.

- (1) Brahminism. It was followed by 800 families of Rādhīya and Vārendra Brahmins and about a hundred families of other Brahmins, the descendants of many Kāyasthas who came from the west and those of the lower classes who served these families.
- (2) Hīnayāna. This was followed on the west of the Ganges and especially in Tamluk.
- (3) Mahāyāna. It was a religion of the higherclass Buddhist monks and higher-class Buddhist laity.
- (4) Vajrayāna. This was the religion of the middle-class man and the married Buddhist clergy.
- (5) Nāthism, which was professed by the Yogis who had numerous followers amongst the Buddhists and a few among the Brahminists.
- (6) The Sahajiyā cult. It had numerous followers below the middle-class Buddhists and some among the lower class Brahminists.
- (7) Tantrism. It had its followers among all classes, but among the higher-classes it was a subsidiary form of worship, among the lower it was the chief form.

(8) The Kālachakrayāna. It was purely Buddhist and more a religion of fear than of love or faith and was followed by the lowest classes.

In the closing years of the 12th century, India was overrun by the Muhammadans. destroyed the Buddhist monasteries of note, appropriated the monastic lands for the use of soldiers and massacred monks by thousands, and burnt libraries wherever found. Mahāyāna was practically stamped out from Bengal. It lingered however in nooks and corners for two centuries more and was then lost altogether. Brahmins who lived on the lands granted to them by the Palas, the Senas, and other kings lost their lands by the Muhammadan invasion; and they also lost the chief source of their income from Government service. They were compelled from this time to extend the sphere of their activity as priests and teachers.

The Muhammadans called the Indians, Brahminists and Buddhists alike, Hindus or Indians. The Brahmins were not slow to take advantage of this and to make it appear that the Buddhists did not exist. All the intellectual followers of Buddhism were either massaccred or compelled to fly away from the country. The Brahmins found themselves masters of the situation in the Indian or the Hindu community. Muhammadans either by force or by persuation converted a large number of the Buddhists into Islam. The vast number of Buddhist were like so many lambs without a shephard. The Vajrayānists, the Sahajiyās, the Nāthists and

the Kālachakrayānists for a time maintained a separate existence, but many of their followers were either converted to Islam or forced to join the Brahmins. But the exclusive spirit of the Brahmins made the admission of only such people into their fold possible as would consent to be their out and out followers. They took these within the pale of their society and called them Navaçākha or the new branch. Those who tried to maintain a separate existence were excluded from the pale of their society and these formed the Anācharanīya Jāti or the depressed classes.

It has been already stated that the Kaivarttas were expressly excluded from the pale of Buddhism except those that renounced their profession of the slaughter of animals. But the Kaivarttas were a powerful race. The Ancients called them Dasyus i.e., powerful foreigners who troubled by their raids the inhabitants of the Arvan lands. In the eleventh century the Kaivarttas formed a powerful confederacy in the North Bengal under the leadership of Bhima. expelled the Palas from their capital Gauda, where they occupied a suburb and temporarily became rulers of Bengal. The Palas considered the rising of the Kaivarttas as a revolt. After a long struggle they suppressed the revolt with a strong hand, yet the Kaivarttas were a power to be counted with. With their aid Ballala conquered Northern Bengal, and tried his best to make a clean caste of them, and divided them by sending the more turbulent ones to defend the Southern frontier Daksinaghāta. Their leader was Maheca

whom he made a Maṇḍalevara from which fact the Dakhiṇaghāta is still known as the Maṇḍalaghāṭa.

Those of the Kaivarttas who lived by fishing were not Buddhists, but those who took to the profession of agriculture and to the profession of arms were Buddhists and became to a great extent civilised and educated. They patronised men of letters equally with the Palas. A medical work composed under the patronage of Bhīma is still extant. Their priests, the descendants of the Buddhist married clergy, still form a community by itself. At the present moment they call themselves Brahmins, because none but the Brahmins are recognised in the Hindu society as priests. The Kaivarttas for-getful of their past and forgetful of their old tradition are now attempting to call themselves Māhiṣyas and thereby raise themselves to the position of Vaiçyas, though degraded in status. One who knows the past history of India cannot forbear a smile at this.

What is true of the Kaivarttas is true of other degraded classes. The Yogis are now trying to take the holy thread and become Brahmins. They do not know what they were. They were real Yogis, being descendants of the Nāthas, that influencial class to which belonged Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Mīnanātha, Ayinātha, Chauraŋginātha, and others. Their ancesters had numerous followers. Princes and potentates bowed before them. Many Nāthas are still worshipped in temples and holy places in Nepal and in Tibet. Gorakṣanātha is still wor-

shipped as the principal deity by the Gorkha as a race. His temple at the Gorkha hill is still the resort of thousands of pilgrims. His temple opposite to that of Paçupatinātha is kept clean with scrupulous care. He has many temples in the plains of India. The Nāthas do not seem to have observed any distinction among the several classes when taking in followers. It appears that their faith was accepted as a subsidiary faith, subsidiary more to the Buddhists, than to the Brahminists.

The Dharmagharia Yogis are to be found in large numbers in South-Western Bengal. The so-called Brahmins who beg with the image of Cītalā in their hands and come from Howrah and Midnapore districts are all Dharmaghariā Yogis. They do not put on the holy thread, but they use copper in some form or other on their person after their initiation to religious life. They worship Dharma at Dharma temples. From the locality they come, they seem most likely to be the survivals of the Hinavanist monks of the Tāmralipta country. One of their community with his followers went to the Pagan in the thirteenth century and reformed Buddhism there (see Kalyani inscriptions). These are Buddhists to all intents and purposes. Dharma is more widely worshipped in this part of Bengal than in others. Many of these Dharma temples are maintained by lands which were granted to them many centuries ago.

Guptas.—Tatakara, Subhā-kara, and Prabhākara have already been mentioned. They composed

works on the Buddhist rituals of the Mantrayana school, and so they must have been learned Buddhists in the 9th century. Sādhu Gupta was a Sthavira of some note at Nalanda. He got a copy of Astasāhasrikā made at his expense and presented it to a Buddhist monastery at Batagrāma. There is evidence to show that many. Guptas were Buddhists. Dipankara, the writer of Açvavaidyaka, was a Buddhist and belonged to a wellknown Buddhist family. The Karas are not much respected among the present Vaidya class. The men of this caste studied Sanskrit in those of its branches which are enumerated in the commentary of Ramachandra Kavi Bhāratī's Bhakticataka. They belonged originally to Bengal and Eastern India. seemed to be the survival of the lay, learned and married Buddhist priests or Aryas. They - never cared for the holy thread. Their claims to the Vaicyablood dates from the middle of the 18th century and at the present moment they are advancing claims to the Brahminic rank. This may be justified in the sense that some them were priests and still there is a large number of the Vāmāchāri Tantriks among them. Some of them became followers of Chaitanya and have adopted the calling of Gosvāmins or religious preceptors. The Vaidya community may not perhaps like the idea that they were at one time Buddhists. But they cannot explain their origin. They say they are a mixed caste formed by the cross-breeding of Brahmins and Vaicyas. But their genealogies tell a different tale. They are descended from the fifty-one Vijapurusas who

cannot be placed before the eleventh century. Their title Kavirāja shows that they knew Sanskrit, and they were superior Kavis by which term medical men in Bengal used to be designated.

How Buddhism fared under Brahminic sway is best evidenced by a study of the Buddhist community in Nepal. To the Brahmin Buddhists are Anācharaṇīya. The King acting under the advice of the Brahmins may make some particular families or classes clean castes, but the bulk of them are outside the pale of Brahminic society. The descendants of the married clergy who still occupied Viharas meant for monks and who cannot find sufficient work as priests, take to such arts and callings as would bring respectable wages without hard manual labour. Thus in Nepal, Goldsmiths, Carpenters and Painters all belong to the descendants of the married clergy. By an analogy of Nepal one can easily detect why Chhutars and Sekras have become Anacharaniya in Bengal. Formerly these two castes formed a part of the Buddhist community in Bengal and so the Brahmins have excluded them from the community. It is a curious feature in the Brahminic community that however unfavourable they may be to the Anacharaniya castes they are still more unfavourable to their priests now miscalled Brahmins. In Nepal too the Buddhist priests are subject to a greater share of the Brahmin's ire than their lay followers.

The merchant community in Nepal noted for their personal beauty, all belong to Buddhism and are for this reason excluded from the Brahminic society. For the same reason the merchant community in Bengal who stood by their Buddhist priests have been excluded and made Anācharanīya, while those who changed their priests have been taken within the Brahminic fold and made clean castes. But a study of the clean and unclean merchant community will show that both were originally Buddhists.

The Kāyasthas, if we exclude the descendants of those who are recognised as Kulīnas among the Dakṣina Rādhīya and Vangaja communities, and who were Brāhminic in their tendencies were mostly Buddhists. These are all Maulikas, i. e. they originally belonged to this country, a Buddhist country. In Dharmapāla's time there was a Vriddha Kāyastha who wrote Buddhist books and so late as 1436 A. D. the Kāyastha zamindars of Benugrāma in Sohinchari parganā were Buddhist. They had Buddhist Bhikṣus with them and they studied Buddhist books.

But below the Anācharanīya there are several castes still in Bengal, who do not even pretend to have the so-called Brahmin priests. They raise one of their caste-men to the priesthood and give him the title of Pandit. We read in the Vratamālāvadāna of the Buddhist that there were three classes of priests, Panditas, Cramanas and Brāhmanas. The position of the Panditas who are placed first in the compound is more honourable than that of either Cramanas or Brāhmanas. From the facts given above, which can be indefinitely multiplied, it would appear that in ancient Bengal before the Muhammadan

conquest, the descendants of the five Brahmins and the five Kāyasthas were the only Brahminists. They had either induced or compelled others to come into their society. The rest of the community were Buddhists.

The case of the Sonār-Vaniās is decidedly a good one. They were Buddhists. Their leader in Bengal in the 12th century was Vallabha Adhya who had two forts Sanghyakoti and He was enormously rich, Chandramāyuta. being the richest banker in Bengal. He married his daughter to a king of Magadha and the kings of Magadha were notoriously Buddhists. In the first part of his reign Ballala was a Buddhist. It is said that he kidnapped the daughter of a Chandala off on immoral purposes in order to attain Siddhi or success in life. worshippers of Tārā, the Cakti of the Buddhists, think that long life may be attained by repeating hymns to that goddess after sitting on a Chandala woman. This shows that in the beginning of his reign Ballala though not a Buddhist directly had a strong tendency towards Tantric Buddhism; but later on Simhagiri a Çaiva ascetic from the Josi-Matha in Garhwal became his Guru and under his advice Ballala became a Caiva and a patron of the Brahmins. As long as Ballala showed Buddhistic tendencies Vallabha lent him money which enabled him to conquer the five Bengals. But in his later life after becoming Çaiva Ballāla wanted money for a war against Magadha, Vallabha refused to advance money. This led to a quarrel and Ballala drove the Banias away. They settled in the adjoining

kingdoms of Tippera, Orissa, Behar and others. Those who remained in Bengal were degraded. Brahmins were prohibited from teaching them and officiating in their religious ceremonies. Thus the only chance for the Sonār-Baniās to be admitted into the Brahminist society was lost. The Vaidika Brahmins from the South sympathised with the Baniās and they incurred the displeasure of Ballāla and were not admitted to Kulīnism.

It is a well known fact that Buddhism does not make any distinction of caste in India. But in Nepal in the present day there is a sort of distinction between the priestly and the nonpriestly occupations, and the different occupation of the laity. The distinction however is not so pronounced as in the Brahminic society. In the remote days, when Bengal was a Buddhist country, a distinction was observed among the several classes of the Buddhists. The unmarried monks were regarded with the greatest reverence, and the married clergy was regarded as the highest of castes. Next to them were the ruling and the merchant community. But there was a large class of labourers who belonged to the lowest occupations:—sweepers and others who enjoyed very little of the advantages of the social life. To these were denied the services of the barbars and sometimes of washermen. The necessities of the times sometimes made it imperative to ex-communicate persons, families and even clans of a locality. These swelled the ranks of the lowest community, a salt at hold, a hold a span and

After the Muhammadan conquest Brahminic ideals were super-imposed on the Buddhist ideals of society. The distinctions among the classes became more and more prominent till they developed into a regular caste-system. People forgot their old history, the history of their own distinction and began to think with the Brahmins that all distinctions were due either to cross breeding or to ex-communication. Thus a social edifice was built up in Bengal with the Brahmins forming the top-most part. The existence of Buddhism was forgotten. Masses of the Anacharaniya classes are the survivals of the forgotten Buddhism. These classes are depressed only in the eyes of the Brahmins and those who have come under the Brahminic influence. The more one would study the social history of Bengal, the more will one be convinced that the classes are not really depressed. They continue to be what they were, only they have lost their consciousness of a great past, intellectually, morally and socially. It was people of these classes that carried Buddhist ideals to Tibet and China, held commercial relations with the of Easternand Southern Asia, and were great in trade and in industry. We hear of long sea-voyages made even in the fifteenth century by the Bengal Banias, glowing descriptions of which are to be found in works of Manasar Bhasan written by various poets of Bengal. With the advance of research the socalled depressed classes will regain the lost consciousness of their former glory. It is therefore necessary that Brahmins should take stepsto conciliate them, and take them into their confidence.

Before the Muhammadan conquest, Bengal was divided between the two communities of Brahminists, and Buddhists, and after that the entire population was divided into the two great classes of Hindus and Muhammadans. The word Hindu literally means Indian, and is therefore capable of a very wide significance. The depressed classes are now as good Hindus as the Brahminists, though they have no common faith and common social organisation. If they are organised as a homogeneous community with common interests and common aspirations and receive the common appellation of Hindus, why should the Mahomedans, the domiciled Mahomedans, the Christians, and the domiciled Christians not be called Hindus as well, because they too have been living in India for many centuries and have the same interests and aspirations. If the depressed classes regain their consciousness and position in the Hindu society, the Hindu society will in near future include all the inhabitants of Bengal and thus the term will regain its radical and real significance.

Ask a Nepalese Buddhist how many religions are there in the world, and he will answer "there are two religions Gubhāju and Devabhāju "i.e., the worship of the Gurus and the Devas. The Buddhists are Gubhāju for they worship their great Guru Buddha and the Brahmins are Devabhāju for they worship Devas. Buddhism and Hinduism have influenced each other greatly and

now pure Gubhājus and Devabhājus are rare. When a Brahmin in the morning repeats his Vedic Sandhyā, he is a Devabhāju, but when he performs his Tantric Sandhyā or when he looks upon his Guru as the living embodiment of his God on earth he is a Gubhāju. The key-note of the distinction between Brahminism and Buddhism is the worship of God and the worship of Guru. But is there any one in Bengal who does not worship both. Even the unitarian Brāhma is no exception when he prays to one God, he is a Devabhāju, but when he observes the birthday of Rāmmohan Rāya and of Kesava Chandra he is a Gubhāju.

Now the distinction between the ancient Buddhists, and ancient Brahmins being this, it is possible to say what amount of Buddhism and Brahminism there is in the doctrine of any particular sect now flourishing in Bengal. As I have shown above all people are to some extent Devabhāju and to some extent Gubhāju. Intellectual people seem to be more Devabhāju than Gubhāju, but the less intellectual people are more Gubhāju than Devabhāju. The followers of Chaitanya making a pilgrimage to Nadia on the fullmoon of Phalguna and keeping a complete record of the birth and death of the great preachers of their faith, are more Gubhājus than Devabhājus, they are more influenced by Buddhism than by Brahminism. The Karttābhajās to whom the Guru is the only Truth and every thing else illusion are most prominently Gubhāju; that is, Buddhist. That they do not use the word Buddha need not deter us from calling them Buddhists;

for in later times Buddhists were not known as Buddhists but as the followers of Guru contracted into 'Gu'. Do we not call the Buddhism in Tibet Lāmāism! But what does the word 'Lāma' mean? It simply means Guru. So the worship of Guru means direct or indirect influence of Buddhism and here is a criterion of the utmost importance. For an analysis of the doctrines of the various religious sects inhabiting Bengal and Eastern India, and the consequent determination of the amount of Buddhism that have entered into them, the presence or absence of Buddha's name does not matter at all.

Under these circumstances the discovery of a new sect in Mayūrabhañja pre-eminently of the Gubhāju tendency and using some of the terms current in Mahāyāna Buddhism by Babu Nagendranāth Vasu is of the utmost importance to the social and religious history of the country. It shows how tenaciously the people still cling to their ancient faith though all memory of it seems to be lost. A trained eye can see through things, and Nagendra Babu seems to be eminently endowed with such a trained eye in matters relating to the social and religious history of this country.

For a long time, all thinking people of India wondered what became of Buddhism which had played so important a part in the history, life and literature of the country in olden times. Babu Akṣaya Kumāra Datta considered that the worship of Viṭhobā and Viṭthala was a survival of Buddhism. These deities are worshipped in the

Godāvari districts as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. Jagannātha at Puri is still regarded as Buddha incarnate or Viṣṇu incarnate as Buddha.

It was, however, only about twenty years ago that researches in regard to the survival of Buddhism in Bengal began with some earnestness and I took some interest in the matter. These resulted in the discovery that the pūjā of Dharma Thākur, so common in Western Bengal, is a survival of Buddhism. The discovery was held with delight in certain quarters and with strong opposition in others. But the researches continued and it was found that many of the Tantric cults came to Brahminism through Buddhism and the whole of the Tantric Literature was greatly influenced by it. study of Buddhism in Nepal under Hindu supremacy showed that the Anacharaniya classes, at least some of them, were the remnants of the Buddhist population. Sahajiyās in Bengal had always been regarded as a recent development of Vaisnavism, but the study of ancient manuscripts in Nepal showed that there were Sahajiyās also even in the Pāla period, and that they were strongly imbued with later Buddhist ideas. The Vaisnava Sahajiyās are really a continuation of the old Buddhist Sahajiyās.

The Nāthas too were to a great extent a survival of Buddhism. It was subsequently found that life in Bengal, even the most orthodox Brahminic life, showed traces of Buddhist influence and Buddhist ideals. Balarāma Hādi who preached a new cult at Meherpur in Nadia at the beginning of the last century and died in 1857,

and whose followers number by thousands in the adjoining districts, got his ideas from the still surviving Buddhism in the nooks and corners of Bengal. A few years ago, Mr. Gait placed in my hands some materials from which it was found that the Sarāki Tāntis who not only inhabit the Tributary Mahāls of Cuttack, but are to be found in the settled districts of Cuttack and Puri, still worship Buddha along with the Brahminic Gods in all their religious ceremonies and that the word Sarāki is simply a Prākrit form of the word Crāvaka. The Sarākis are to be found in Bankura and Burdwan too. Although they bear a Buddhistic name, they seem to have forgotten all their Buddhism. The Cuttack Tributary Mahals were supposed to contain many relics of later Buddhism. State of Baud named after Buddha was supposed to contain still a remnant of real Buddhist population. The researches of Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu in the jungles of Mayūrabhañja have proved that these suppositions were not wrong. He has not only traced the existence of Buddhism from the time of the persecutions by Purusottama and his successor Pratāparudra, but discovered a new reformed faith, preached only during the last quarter of the 19th century. His book is exceedingly interesting and opens a new vista of research.

26, PATALDANGA STREET, Calcutta, May 17th, 1911.

MODERN BUDDHISM

AND ITS

FOLLOWERS IN ORISSA.

No. of Lots

CHAPTER I.

Rise of the different schools, from the 1st to the 15th Century.

Towards the end of the 1st Century of the Christian era, the Scythian King Kaniska held a council of Buddhists at Jālandhar. At this council the Buddhists were found to be divided into two schools, one following the purer doctrine of Buddha himself, in spite of all the difficulties and obstacles that he had placed in the way of attaining salvation; this was named Hīnayāna or the Little Vehicle. The other,—while idealising Buddha with all his attributes,—introduced innumberable gods and demons, and added to the list of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This was styled the Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle.

The Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools of Philosophy then claimed Buddhism between themselves; and these, again, were subdivided,—the former into Vaibhāsika and Sautrāntika, and the latter into Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra. The Mahāyāna school, however, had the

predominant voice; and the essence of its doctrine was "Sarvam Anityam, Sarvam Çunyam, Sarvam Anātman (All is transitory, all is void, all is non-ego.")*

Nāgārjuna, the founder and expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy, flourished at the time of the Third Council. The end and aim of his philosophy was to bring about a compromise, as it were, between the Cramanas and the Brahmanas, and to find out a midway where the adherents of these two, could meet and shake "Nāgārjuna both hands with one another. by examples and theory, taught that Brahmā, Visnu, Civa, Tārā and other deities possessed the attributes which Brahmanas had assigned to them, and therefore were the proper objects of worship for help in worldly concerns. Since his time the Brāhmanas began regard the Mahāyāna Cramanas as their brother religionists."

The doctrine of the Mahāçūnyam, as expounded by Nāgārjuna, as being the basis of the Mādhyamika philosophy, is to all intents and purposes but a reflection of the Great Brahma-Vāda, as inculcated in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā. And Dr. Kern is quite right when he observes that the Yogāchāras and the Mādhyamikas, the two true descendants of the Mahāyāna school, are but idealists in their own way. The former admits as reality nothing but

D. T. Suzuki's Mahayana Buddhism, p. 44,
 † Carat Chandra Das's Land of Snow, p. 7.

Viiñāna, consciousness, and are in consequence, designated Vijnāna-Vādins. Mādhyamikas are more sweeping in their pronouncements. They are absolute nihilists, carrying the theory of Name-and-Form to its extremes and denving all existence whatsoever, regarding the whole of the phenomenal world as a mere This nihilism of theirs may well be taken as the Buddhistic counterpart of the Scholastic Vedānta as taught by Cankara.

After Nāgārjuna, and second only to him, the chief expounder of the Mahāyāna philosophy was Vasubandhu. He was less wildly speculative than many of his predecessors and composed many commentaries, and was thus greatly successful in recasting, so to speak, the nihilism of the Mahāyāna school by giving it, as it were, an air of reality and tangibility. Thus Dr. Waddel says :-

"This intense mysticism of the Mahāyāna led about the fifth century, to the importation into Buddhism of the pantheistic idea of the soul (ātman) and Yoga or the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit-a doctrine which had been introduced into Hinduism by Patanjali."†

The Yogāchāra School also, in its later development, received and assimilated some magic circles with mantras or spells about 700 A.D., and hence received the new appellation of Mantra-vāna.

^{*} Dr. Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 127. † Dr. L. A. Waddell's Buddhism of Tibet, p. 128.

But the Mahāvāna School did not stop there. Having once commenced the work of importation and assimilation, it went on with it, with all its zeal and vigour, and was before long almost a new thing. About the seventh century A.D. the development of the infatuating Tantrism, which practically verges on sorcery claiming a religious basis, attracted the notice of the Mahavana School, and ere long the idolatrous cult of 'female energies' was found grafted upon the theistic Mahāyāna and the Pantheistic mysticism of Yoga. And this Tantrika phase of the Mahayana School reached its climax when it adopted, and assimilated with itself, the theory of the Kālachakra. Though laying no pretensions whatsoever to the consideration due to a philosophic system, this Kālachakra has an importance of its own as a doctrinal basis and deserves a passing notice here. It wants to establish a mysterious union between the terrible goddess Kālī of the Tāntrika system, and the Dhyānī Buddhas, nav, the Adi-Buddha himself, of the Buddhistic system, and attempts to explain creation and the secret agencies of nature in the light of this union. In the tenth century, the Kalachakra system of the Mantrayana School, as the result of further and further retrograde developments, passed into the system of the Vajrayana or the thunderboltvehicle. This is the most depraved form, that the Buddhistic doctrine on its downward course of importation, assimilation and compromise, had ever assumed. According to this, the devotee may hope to attain the spiritual powers of siddhi-a stage admittedly far below Arhat-ship-with the

joint aid of the supernatural Buddhas and the Dākas and the Dākinīs with their appropriate magic circles.*

As Dr. Kern rightly observes—"The doctrine of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and Sorcery which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common."

This is the history of Buddhism in India, as it rushed headlong towards superstition and decline. But a change, pregnant and comprehensive, was soon to pass over it, making it bright and glorious again. Towards the latter part of the eighth century, Dharma Pāla I of the Pāla Dynasty. was occupying the masnad of Gauda. He was a Buddhist, and grieved to find his religion sunk in superstition and grossness. He made up his mind to have its downward course arrested, and the faith purged of all the impurities and unwelcome elements. His spirit was projected, as it were, into the minds of his successors, and systematic and earnest endeavours were made by the successive wearers of the crown to restore Buddhism to its former height and grandeur. And considering the galaxy of good and pious souls flourishing at the time of Dharma Pāla II, Mahī Pāla I and Naya Pāla who

† Kern's Manual, p. 133.

Dr. Waddell's Buddhism of Tibet, p. 152.

reigned from 1015 to 1060 A.D., we cannot but pronounce that their endeavours were largely crowned with success. The first and foremost amongst this group of great men was Dīpankara Crījñāna, otherwise known as Atiça. He was at the helm of the Vikramçila monastery from 1035 A.D. to 1038 A.D. Other notable names are Rāmāi Paṇḍit, Hāḍi Siddha, Kamalā Kuçila, Narendra Crījñāna, and Dāna Rakṣita. Belonging to and professing the Tāntrika cult, they rose much above it and made themselves distinguished by their teachings and lives of piety, self-abnegation and self-renunciation. They were not, thus, to be ranked with the followers of the black Tantrism who made the enjoyment of material comforts their goal of life.

The irreligion and corruption which followed in the wake of the Tantrika cult in its onward course, the latter taking the place of the spirit of its teachings and practices, permeated through and through the lives of both Hindus and Buddhists of the time, and deadened their spiritual sense. A tide of reaction, in the case of Buddhism, had already set in, as we have seen, with Dharma Pāla I, towards the end of the eighth century. And before the eleventh century had come to its close, divisions were effected in the camp of the Tantrika Buddhism, owing to a revival of the religious spirit by some of the greatest thinkers and men of the time. The principal divisions were—the way of Pravrtti, and the way of Nivrtti. The goal of life which the Pravrtti-margin (those who took to the path of Pravrtti,) desired to set before them,

was emancipation attainable only through enjoyment, life being indissolubly linked with weal and woe. And they proceeded to collect authoritative works in support of their view, to appeal to the hearts of the masses and win them over to their side.

The goal of the Nivrtti-margin on the other hand was entire deliverance of the soul from the Pravrtti. which is constantly at work—the source of all our pain and sufferings,-and the subsequent attainment of the blissful state, called Nivrtti,—a complete annihilation or deadening of all the appetites and desires. Habitual abstraction of the mind from all pleasures and pains, will enable a man to know what Nivrti is; and Tapas and Dhyana are set down as the means for the realization of this habitual abstraction. But the highest ideal that this class of Buddhists set before their mental eyes was the acquisition of the knowledge of the Great Unconditioned Void or Mahā-Cūnyam. It was the highest flight of the Madhyamika philosophy, and the fountain-head of all ideals and inspirations to its followers. Once more, inspired and fired with zeal and enthusiasm, they set about to collect the cardinal doctrines of the Mādhyamika School, and set them forth again in a more attractive and popular form. Amongst this class we find such names Aticā Dīpankara, Narendra Crījnāna and others.

As stated above, these two margas or ways were essentially different from one another, the former aiming at the realization of the unity of the Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajnā (Puruṣa and Prakṛti) through the love and enjoyment of the world; and the latter, at the absorption of the soul in the Great Çūnyam through purity, love and renunciation.

It was in Gauda that both these systems of theology and religion first germinated and developed. Only a few years ago Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Çāstri came across several ancient Bengali manuscripts in Nepal, dating from eight to nine hundred years back: and on examination these were found to belong to the Pravṛtti-Mārga School, recording the development of its thoughts and ideas in their several stages.

When Buddhisim had practically vanished from this country, the pernicious system propounded by the Prayrtti Marga lingered in the Sahajiā cult of the Vaisnavas and did incalculable mischief to that society. The influence which these two schools of thought exercised upon the minds of all sections of the community was considerable. Advocating the fullest enjoyment of life the Pravrtti Marga system soon became a powerful instrument of vice in the hands of many inculcating the noxious practices of the Sahajiyā cult. The Nivṛttī-mārga system was a no less potent factor $_{\rm in}$ moulding and regulating the thoughts society, as is evidenced by a critical study of the Cunya-Purana and Dharma-Mangala literature and several other Oriva manuscripts, recently

brought to light from some of the backward villages of Mayūrabhañja. Remnants of its former influence are still discernible in the manners and customs of the Bāthuri tribe and the Mahimā-dharmin sect of Mayūrabhañja.

What we aim at in this chapter is to discuss briefly the influence which the Nivritti-Marga once exercised upon the minds of the country and the part it played in the history and a comparative religion. growth of writings extant on the subject are, however, very frequently enveloped in a peculiar mysticism. They ascribe, for instance, to Crijnana, Rāmāi Paṇdit and the other sages of the time, we have referred to above, all sorts of miracles and supernatural feats. Whatever may be the value of these assertions, it is at any rate true that the goal of life they aimed at and taught others to aim at, was the attainment of Bambha Nibbāna* which really refers to the Buddhistic idea of Salvation.

It may not be out of place to note in passing that the reputation and influence of Atica extended over the whole of lower Bengal and from there up to Bhoṭa (Tibet). The fame of Rāmāi Paṇḍit spread over the whole of Rāḍha† and Hāḍi Siddha's name exercised for long a magic influence in the eastern provinces of Bengal.

† Mayurabhanja, is situated close to Rārha. Nay, to the people of Orissa, Mayurabhanja itself is known as Rārha.

Vide Rāmāi Pandit's Cunyapurāna published by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad, 1909.

It has been proved beyond all shadow of a doubt by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Cāstri, that the Dharma cult which even now counts amongst its followers a good many people of the lower classes of Bengal, was founded and inaugurated by Rāmāi Paṇḍit. We shall try to show later on that the result of the endeavours made by the Pāla Kings to improve the depraved religious tone of the country and more especially the personal influence of Rāmāi Pandit in this direction, were not confined within the limits of Mayurabhañja, but pervaded the whole of Orissa. M. M. Cāstri has clearly shown that central force of Rāmāi Pandit's works was the doctrine of the Mahā-Cunyam or the Great Void, which is again the heart and soul of the Madhyamika philosophy. The bright and sparkling description or Dhyana of Dharma in which he indulges, is itself a strong and clear proof of this. Nowhere in the whole range of Buddhist scriptures do we come across, a more luminous passage than the one in which he describes the Cunyam. And we cannot do better than quote a few lines from it:-

"यस्थान्तीनादिमध्यो न च करचरणौ नासिकायी निर्नादं। नाकारी नेव कर्ष न च भयमरखे नास्ति जन्मनि यस्य। योगौन्द्रे क्रानगम्यं सकलदलगतं सर्व्वलीकेवनायं। भक्तानां कामपूरं सरनरवरन्दं चिनयेत् यस्यसूर्षम्।"

"He who has neither a beginning nor an end, nor a middle; who has, further, neither hands nor feet, neither body nor voice; neither form nor image; and who is afraid neither of birth nor death:—He who is knowable only by the greatest of the Yogis, sages; who underlies and upholds all classes of men; who is the sole lord of all the worlds (i.e. the whole creation); who brings about the realizations of the desires of his devotees, and confers boons upon gods and men alike. Devoid of all forms and figures as the void itself, he is to be meditated upon."

We also find a similar passage in his Çūnya-Purāṇa:—

"ग्र्चक्पं निराकारं सप्तसविद्यनाशनम्। सर्व्वपर: परौ देव तस्माच्वं वरदो भव॥"

"Thou art destitute of all forms and images, and art the destroyer of all perils and disasters; thou art above everything and the god of gods. Hence mayest thou be pleased to confer boons upon us."

Svayambhū-Purāṇa of Nepal is a Buddhistic work of wide renown and some merit. Amongst its prefatory Clokas we find the following, the underlying idea of which is a distinct echo of that conveyed in the above quotations:—

"नमी वृद्धाय धर्माय सङ्क्षपाय वे नमः। खयम्यू वे वियच्छान (?) भानवे धर्माधातवे॥ धन्ति नान्ति खरूपाय जानकपखरूपिणे। ग्रन्यक्षपखरूपाय नामक्षाय वे नमः॥"

"All obeisance to thee who art Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha personified and who art self-existent, and who art in Cūnya, the sun itself—all serene and sublime; and the essence of all religion. All obeisance to thee who art both existent and non-existent, and also omniscient; and whose form is Cūnya and who art but one and the same with the Name itself."

But of all the existing Buddhistic writings of the Mahāyāna School, by far the most important is Prajñā-pāramitā. This is to the Buddhists what Vedās are to the Brāhmanas. Prajñā-Pāramitā, as mentioned above, is a Sutra Çāstra of the Mahāyāna School, and is mainly devoted to an elaboration of the doctrine of Çūnyatā. In the chapter on Buddhistic Philosophy in his celebrated work of Sarvadarçana-Samgraha, the renowned Mādhavāchārya has dwelt at some length upon the theory of the Çūnya. The following is a quotation from it:—

"अस्ति नास्ति तदुभयानुभयचतुष्तीटिविनिर्म् क्तं ग्रस्यद्रपं" द्रत्यादि ।

"The ultimate principle, then, is a void emancipated from four alternatives—from reality from unreality, from both reality and unreality combined, and from neither reality nor unreality."

But in spite of all this, Buddhism, otherwise known as Sad-Dharma, gradually lost its hold upon the minds of the cultured classes of Bengal as M. M. Haraprasād Cāstri has shown. In its deteriorated form it merely retained a

^{*} Sarva-Darcana-Samgraha, translated by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, p. 22-23.

lodgment in the minds of the superstitious priests of the Dharma and Cītalā cults and their numerous followers, and there it still lurks.

Dr. Kern also writes to this effect:—"After the invasion of the country by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1200, the monasteries of Odantapura and Vikrama-Cilā were destroyed, and the monks were killed or fled to other countries. The learned Çākya-çrī went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet."

But Buddhism also found a hiding-place, as it were, in the Deccan, as we are told by the same author.—"Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a modest scale, in Vijayanagara, Kalinga, and Konkana."

Dr. Kern is one of the best authorities on the history of Buddhism. The above quotations from his "Manual" establish it beyond doubt that after the Universities of Nālandā and Vikrama-çilā were destroyed, and the wave of Muhammadan conquest had swept past Magadha and Gauda, the surviving ministers of Buddhism migrated to Utkala and there built new monasteries. And these citadels, in the wildernesses of Orissa, not only acted as a bar to arrest the tide of extinction, but largely helped the growth and gradual expansion of the religion.

The zeal and enthusiasm of these emigrants did not end with the construction of monasteries. Right earnestly did they devote themselves to a study of both the ancient and modern

^{*} Manual of Buddhism, p. 134.

scriptures of the faith, and fought hard and long against the tide of extinction that threatened to engulf them. Even when the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddha Gupta Tathāgata Nātha, visited Utkala towards the latter half of the 17th century, he found old chaityas, stūpas and various other relics of the faith which once had so strong a hold upon the minds of the people residing there. He also met some living priests of the Dharma Cult.

Under these circumstances, we fully hoped we should find sufficient materials to prove the enormous influence that this religion once exercised upon the minds of the people in Utkala. And indeed it affords us no little satisfaction to report that within a short time and without much trouble we came across very many evidences of the sway once exercised by the various sects of Buddhism in Mayūrabhañja. In the forest tracts adjacent to Badasāi and Kiching in Mayūrabhañja we have discovered several Oriya manuscripts shedding a flood of light upon the later phases of Buddhism. Both from what we are able to glean from these manuscripts, and as the result of our ethnological researches, we have come to the irresistible conclusion that the influence of the Dharma Cult and the later phases of Buddhism still lingers in the hearts, and regulates the lives, of the people of this place. Unconsciously, as if instinctively, they follow the manners and customs and observe the rites and ceremonies that gathered round the Mahāyāna School in the days of its decline.

CHAPTER II.

ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCOVERY.

The Buddhistic relics discovered in the village of Baḍasāi, owed their preservation from absolute destruction and oblivion entirely to the commendable zeal and care of the Bāthuri tribe. This tribe, which is known in Mayūrabhañja as Bāthuri, has, in Keonjhar and the remaining Gaḍjāt States, received two other appellations, viz., Bāhuri or Bāuri.

Balarāma-dāsa, in his commentary on Ganeçavibhūti, entitled Siddhānta-dambara, written in the 16th century, thus refers to the Bāthuri tribe:—

"निराकार दिख्यक् विप्र हीए जात ।

छत्तर भक्षक् जान गीपाल सक्ष्र्त ॥ १०
वदन भन्तरे विश्वामित सुनि कि ।
ताहांकु भक्षरे वाखरि जात होइ ॥ १८ * * *
विश्वामित जीष्ठ सुत पुत्र हार्दे जान ।
सेदि वाखरि भन्तकार्यको नाम ॥ २१
शौरवाख्या दास दित भाषाय्यं भच्छति ।
वाजपेय दीवे इति दासे वीखावन्ति ॥ २२
पाणि मित्र पित वीलि सात जाति जान ।

भन्न चैतनी कृत्ति हेतु करि मान ॥ २१
विस्ठ भक्षद् वाबु विम्नुल एहि ।
सुष ए विल्य एहि नाम युटौ कहि ॥२४ * *

तार तहुँ तेर सुत हरल जनम ।
ताहार पद्मीर नाम पद्माख्या जान ॥ २५
कानिष्ठ पद्मीर चित्र दुर्विय भार्या जान । २६
वायुरिखा विला्ण तार दुतिय भार्या जान । २६
वायुरिखा विला्ण से चतुर्यंक कहि ।
वार सुत जमा हेले चारि पद्मी तहि ॥ २६
नाम ताहादर एवं कहुमहि ग्रण ।
संग्रय लागिल मोते कहिवा भागन ॥२८। * * * * * *

पवे वास्ति वार पुत्र नाम किंद्रवा। पद्यालयापुत्र दुलि वास्ति भटिन त्राञ्चलसङ्के वेद पद् चानि। त्राञ्चल केन्नस्र वास्ति किन्छ। ए पद् विसे राजाः प्रतापरुद्रक्ष ठार गोष्य किर रिखिमच्छिनि। * * * * पद्यालया पुत्र वायोकाच्छी परमानन्द भीद्र राधी शासमत्। गीत—

> छर्वशीर तिन प्रव अठई प्रमाण। क्रमसर्व्यावीलि तार नेप्रष्ठ पुत्र नाम ॥ विध्काश बीलि तार कनिष्ठ पुत्र कहि। टर्व्यक्रम वीलि तार तिन प्रचक्रि॥ ए तिन वाष्टरि, काजा गन्ध ॥ कैशिठाक तिन सत दादे जान ॥ एके एके कडिदेवा ताश्वाङ्गर नाम। जीर्रष्ठपुत प्रयशाविलाणानाम काहि । उद्यम प्रतिबलिटी कनिष्ठ प्रव कि । साघुध्रम वालि तिन भुतर जी नाम । वाष्ट्रति बलिय नाम अति अनुपाम ॥ वायुरेखा तिन सुत नाम देवा कि । जयसर्वा वीलि नेग्रष्ट सतटी घटर ॥ इन्द्रसर्वा वीखि नाम कनिष्ठ नन्दन। महाबौर्यकीत वीलि एहि ठाक् ग्रवा॥ ए तिन नन्दन जी प्रवर घटन्ति। सत्य कड्मि कि ग्रंग छमार सन्तति॥ बार जाति बाछरि जे एडि प्रतिरोध। भिन्न भिन्न करिएडा जाति गीच श्रीध ॥

दुखि वाचरि, काझाल, श्रज्य काझाल, गुरू काझारि, ऐरि, वाचरि, श्रवर, जुयाङ्ग, जादु, भादु, गुरू, तुथन । * * गीत—

> गणेश वीदली प्रभु मीते आजा इस। ए चारि दहिता जात ही ले काँ हु॥ पद्मालया जाहा नाम चम्ब्यटी सेहि । भिराकार टविष घडक जात धीर ॥ द्तिय भार्था चिव उर्व्वशी ता नाम । गत्मकेशो बोलिच ताद्वार दासी जान॥ वायरेखा घटद गसकेशी दासी। ए तिन इत्रेपद्मालया दासी जे ऋटन्ति ॥ एवे कडियिल वैशी पाठक खचय। सावधान होद्र ग्रंथ उमार नन्दन ॥ पद्मालया तिन पत्र जीरह से प्रमाण। विश्वद्ध सङ्घते से इयन्ति समाप्रय ॥ सङासुर मारि प्रभु सङ ताङ दिले। पञ्चजन सङ्घतका सम्भाल वीद्रली॥ श्राउ नव भाद अभ छद्र न जुगाद। विचारि जानिलेटी संग्रय बेला सेहि ॥" (१२ स अध्याय)

Whatever may otherwise be the value of these lines, they possess at least some historical interest. From them we obtain glimpses into the origin of the Bāthuris or Bāuris. Similar stories about origins are also to be met with in the Purāṇas,—but the story of Siddhānta-dambara is not corroborated by any Paurāṇika work, whether Hindu or Buddhistic. In all probability it is either a traditional history of the tribe, passing for generations from mouth to mouth, and given a tangible literary shape by the poet,—or based upon materials drawn from some other work existing at the time, but now either buried in oblivion or quite extinct.

The author has traced this tribe back to the fountain-head of all vitality and creation. He says:—From the right side of the Nirākāra sprang the Vipras into existence and from his mouth Viçvamitra; and from this Viçvamitra the Bāuris came into being. The Vipras were, in their turn, divided into seven classes, e.g., Crī, Ratha, Dāsa, Miçra, Āchārya, Pāni and Pati. All these are mentioned as sons of Vaçistha. From the right side of the Nirākāra also sprang, in full bloom, the goddess Padmālayā, who was married to Viçvāmitra. The fruit of this union was a son, named Ananta-kāndi Bāuri, and afterwards Duli Bāuri. It is also said that Duli Bāuri and his descendants studied the Vedas with the Brāhmaṇas, who were regarded as their elder brothers. Bāyokāndi, Paramānanda Bhoi, and Rādhosāsmala—the descendants of Padmālayā—are the Duli Bāuris. Chitrorvaçi was the second wife of Viçvāmitra, by whom he had three sons, viz., Kuçasarvā, Vidhukuça and Urbakuça, from whom the Bāuris are descended. Viçvāmitra married another wife, viz. Gandhakeçī, who, too, blessed him with three sons-Prayaça, Udyama and Sadhudharma; and these came to be known as Bāghutis. Vicvāmitra had vet another consort in Vāyurekhā, who also was the mother of the same number of sons. They were named Jayasarvā, Vijaya-sarvā and Vijāya-ketu, and founded the Cavara tribe. These four castes, viz., Duli Bāuri, Bāuri, Bāghuti and Cavara, came afterwards to be divided into twelve sub-castes. Although no Hindu or Buddhistic scripture is available to

support the theory of the origin of the Cavara, in its entirety, yet it may be recorded here that in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rgveda, the Cavaras are described as descendants of the sage Viçvāmitra. Hence we are of opinion that the description of Siddhānta-ḍambara is not entirely wanting in historical importance.

While describing the origin of the Bāuris, the author of Sidhānta-dambara has incidentally touched upon a very important fact. He says:—Of the three sons of Padmālayā, the eldest had once a friendly meeting with Viṣṇu, who killed Saŋkhāsura and gave him the Saŋkha. In a similar way five of the descendants of the same goddess by these sons received various friendly favours from Viṣṇu, while the nine remaining sons of Viçvāmitra by his three other wives had not been favoured even with the privilege of touching Viṣṇu's person.

We scarcely think it would be very wide of the mark to infer from this that the word Sankha here means nothing but a Buddhistic Sangha. In this interpretation of Sankha as Sangha, we are supported by the Cūnya-Purāna, in which Sankha is very frequently used for Sangha. The common people in their ignorance of the teachings of Buddhism and its terminology, either misspelt Sangha as Sankha, or mistook Sankha for Sangha which really means a congregation of Buddhistic monks. The only probable interpretation of Viṣnu's killing Sankhāsura and 'giving Ithe Sankha to Padmālayā's son is that the eldest member of the Bāuri commu-

nity became a Sanghādhipa, i.e., chief of a Buddhistic fraternity, after destroying the enemies of the Sangha. Thus, we believe, it was that the sons of Padmālayā and their descendants obtained admittance to the fold of the Buddhistic Sangha, while the remaining sons of Viçvāmitra by his other wives, with their descendants, were thrown into the shade, and occupied an inferior position in society, merely because they could obtain no such admittance, or, in other words, had not themselves converted to Buddhism.

The author of Siddhanta-dambara makes this clear in the following lines:—

''पद्मालयापुत दुखि नाखरि चटित त्राद्मस सक्ते वेद पद्धानि । त्राद्मस जीप्र बाडरि कनिष्ठ। ए पद्खिले राजा प्रतापक्ट्रक ठाक्गीय करिरिख चक्किना''

"Duli Bāuri was Padmālayā's descendant; he would read the Vedas with the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa was older than he. The fact of the Bāuri studying the Vedas was kept concealed from King Pratāparudra."

Hence it is evident that the Bāuris were regarded as equal in rank with the Brāhmanas and that they observed the rites and followed the observances of Buddhism until the time of King Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.

We learn from Mr. Sterling's Orissa that although the followers of Buddhism were at first received with form and treated with marked consideration by Prataparudra Deva, they were afterwards persecuted by his court. Now, read-

ing the history of Utkala together with that of Siddhanta-dambara, one must accept, as the only natural conclusion, our belief that it was the dread of persecution by the king that compelled the Buddhist priests of the Bauri caste to seek shelter in concealment. And to evade these persecutions and avoid incurring the displeasure and disfavour of the Brahmanas, they played the hypocrite by adopting the religious observances and practices of the latter. Further, in order completely to hoodwink these vigilant dragons of the Brāhmanic faith they substituted the names of Hindu gods and goddesses for those of their own. Notwithstanding all this apparent hypocrisy, however, they sincerely believed that Buddha was in reality an avatára of Visnu, and as such they felt justified in substituting the name of Vișnu for his .-- Even then, Cūnyavāda was the highest goal of their religious aspirations, and they consigned Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Çivatheir adopted gods—to inferior positions. But placed, as they were, under ban and anathema by the king and the leaders of society, their social status was no higher than that of the Domas and the Doma Pandits of Bengal who professed the Dharma cult.

We find the following lines in Siddhantadambara:--

"क लियुगेन कुद्रम्। बास्टरि कुद्रले सकल पातक चय इद वीलि विशामाया करिगीय कीरि रिक्ट चर्चान्य ग्रन हे गथे श्वड़ गहनर गुप्त करि युद्र हु। एोध सकाणक् बाटिर गार काटिली बाग्नाच निभाद पारित निहा मुर्भा पातक चय इव बीखि शायक मानिधानि ।" (१२ पः)

"They are not to be touched in the Kaliyuga. But a touch of their bodies will extirpate all the sins. Hence Viṣṇu, through his māyā, has kept them in concealment."

Here, in the same breath, the author both decries and extols the Bāuris. Probably to complete their disguise and help them to conceal themselves, he says the Bauris are unworthy of being touched. Yet in the next line he speaks of them in such high terms as can fall only from the lips of one who has himself been either a staunch believer in Buddhism or a Bāuri Pandit like so many Doma Pandits of Bengal. The positions of these two classes of Pandits were almost identical, although differing widely in their religious systems. Dharma occupied the highest place in the pantheon of the Doma Pandits; while, as we learn from Siddhanta-dambara, the Bauris, not unlike the Mahayanists of yore, held Mahāçunyatā or Çunya-Brahman as the sole cause of the entire universe. We obtain sufficient glimpses of the Cunyavada from the writings of the votaries of the different sects and sub-sects that sprang from latter-day Buddhism.

We have seen before that in the 16th century, up to the time of Rājā Pratāparudra of Utkala, Buddhism was the prevailing creed of Orissa. Although, owing to persecutions at the hands of the king, its influence began subsequently to wane, Buddhism was never wholly extirpated from the province. The crusade carried on against its followers, no doubt, compelled them to take refuge in the impregnable hilly parts of the

country. Speaking of Mukunda Deva, the last independent King of Orissa, whose dominions extended from Triveni in the North to Ganjam in the South, Pagsam Jon-Zan, a Tibetan work written by Sampo Khampa, states that this King favoured Buddhism, and Buddhists were found in large numbers residing in his territories. We quote from it the following:—

"Mukunda Deva (Dharma-Rāja) King of Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

In Siddhānta-dambara the Bāuri is mentioned as one of the nine classes of Brāhmanas, although, it is added, he was, in the time of the author, regarded as 'unworthy of being touched.' Now the question is whether, as stated by the author of Siddhanta-dambara, the present Bathuris are in any way connected with the Brāhmanas. To this, from the various materials that we were able to glean in the course of our ethnological survey in Mayūrabhañja, we are in a position to reply that the Bathuri tribe does really belong to the Aryan race. Ample proofs of this are scattered all over the country. To select at random from amongst a long list of such proofs, the fine specimens of architecture in the impregnable Simlipāla hills of Mayūrabhañja, the ancient stone temple named Āthāradeula, and similar other buildings, and the great stone fort of Joshipur or Daspur are unmistakable indications of their past culture and civiliza-

tion, and go far in establishing their Aryan connection. It was only a few years back that this people were said to occupy the exalted positions of rulers, ministers and commanders. Bāthuris themselves believe that the Arvan blood runs in their veins; and are strongly convinced that they are in all respects on a par with the Brahmanas. Even now they are found wearing the sacred thread; and like the Brāhmins they observe the 'ten days' mourning' and perform the crādh ceremony on the eleventh day. On the day of the crādh, Brāhmanas and Vaisnavas dine in the house of the performer of the ceremony. The greatest personage of this tribe is now-a-days honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. On the occasion of the marriage of a son or a daughter, the Bathuri house-holder has to give away a piece of cloth, ten betel-nuts and one hundred betels, as marks of honour to the Mahapātra. And so great is the honour that he enjoys among his own people that on every festive occasion his approval has first of all to be sought and obtained. The Mahāpātra family of Mayūrabhañja proper is believed to have descended from the eldest branch and those of Adipur and Dasapur from the youngest. Although occupying an inferior position in society, they themselves jealously regard their tribal self-respect and family prestige. No true Bathuri will ever be induced to partake of the food cooked even by a Brāhmana. If ever any member of their society in any way violates their social rules or is found to have illicit connection with any woman of any other caste, he suffers the

extreme penalty of excommunication. They offer their religious homage to Dharmarāja, Jagannātha* (Baḍam), Kinchakeçvarī and Bāuri Thākurānī.

No writer has yet fully dwelt upon the ethnology of this ancient people. We therefore propose giving here rather a detailed account of their manners and customs. As has already been observed the Mahāpātras are the foremost in rank among the Bathuris. Their ancestors were the rulers of Simlipāla, where remnants of their past glory may still be seen. Of these we have already spoken. Branches of this line are now living in Bāmuria, Joshipur or Dasapur and Ādipurgarh. From Māhapātra Sacchidananda Dasa of Adipurgarh we have learnt that his ancestor of the fourteenth remove with his two brothers left his ancestral home at Jamunakula among the hills of Simlipala, owing to the ravages of tigers. The eldest, who was the ruler of the state of Simlipāla removed to Bāmuria near Khuntā Karkachia in Bhanjabhuma. The second and the third (youngest) migrated respectively to Adipurgarh and Daspurgarh. Their descendants are still living in those places.

Another branch of the Bāthuri zamindars is to be found at Karañjiāgarh. This family is related to the Mahāpātras spoken of above, though sprung from a different stock.

^{*} To the Buddhists of Nepal Dharmaraja and Jagannatha are only other names of Buddha.

We have heard both from Mahāpātra Sacchidānanda and his Vyavahartā (counsellor) Ananta Dāsa the following story of creation:—

Cūnya Mahāprabhu alone existed before creation. From Him sprang Vedamātā, of whom were born the fifty-six crores of beings and the world. They added that this account of the creation was to be found in numerous manuscripts of Simlipāla. Of these they themselves once possessed a large number, all of which had, however, been destroyed by fire. They also furnished us with an account of the origin of their own tribe. The following is the gist of what they said. In the beginning there was nothing but Cunya; and from the arm (bāhu) of Çūnya Mahāprabhu sprang into existence the founder of their tribe. And it was for this (i.e., their origin from the bahu or arm of the creator) that the tribe came to be known as Bāhuri or Bāthuri. In course of time this tribe began to branch off into a large number of Khilis, i.e., families, such as :-

Kuçamāliā,
Biçāla,
Purihāra,
Modei,
Dāsa,
Giri,
Kapundia,
Dhala,
Çūliya,
Simadankiyā,
Senāpati,

Pāṭaliyā,
Pāṭra,
Kumār (Kuŋar),
Khaṇḍei,
Khālpāriyā,
Çaŋkhiyāl,
Māṇika,
Kānachikaniyā,
Māṭiyān,
Jariyāl,
Maigadabiçāla,

Khāṭnā,
Rānāsiyā,
Jhariāl,
Rāmagaḍia,
Bāgjaḍiā,
Paniyāḍiyā,
Bārsāliyā,
Mushāpāliyā,
Taṇḍakhāliyābiçāla,
Rānt,
Bāgchampiyāpātra,
Sundarghariāpātra,

Jāmuṇḍiā,
Danāyik,
Rupjitmarāī,
Mṛḍiyā,
Bāragāñiyā,
Gāmbhāriyā,
Kalpāḍiyā,
Kolāpāḍiyā,
Rāi-ṭhāñiyā,
Nimbāl,
Pichhaliyā,
Khejarpāṭiyā.

Each khili is regarded as one integral family, no nuptial alliance being allowed between members of one and the same khili. But such an alliance between members of different khilis is not prohibited. On the contrary they are very liberal on this point. One may even marry the daughter of his mother's own brother. Each of the khilis has again its gradations of rank, consisting of four orders, viz., 1, Mahāpātras, 2, Nāyakas; 3, Pāiks; and 4, Muliyās, or the labouring class. They have four gotras, viz., Parācara, Nāgaça, Kācyapa, and Pārdhyā. Kuçamāliyas and Biçālas occupy the foremost rank among the khilis; Khālpāriyas and the rest are all below them. Kuçamāliyas are reported to be descendants of Rāmapāla or Rāma Rājā of Simlipāla. From Siddhanta-dambara we learn that from the Formless sprang Vievāmitra from whom there descended Kuçasarbā, Bidhukuça, and Aurbakuca. These latter are looked up to as having been the three Kuças or the earliest known progenitors of the Bāthuri tribe. The Kuçamāliyās of Bāmuriyā, Ādipur and Daspur also claim descents from Kuca.

Let us next turn our attention to the customs of the Bathuris. Various ceremonies are gone through to solemnise the nativity of their children. Just on the seventh day after birth the body of the babe is besmeared with an unguent consisting of ground turmeric and mustard oil, and bathed in water: on the ninth day it is shaved, bathed and purified. Then on the twenty-first day the child is given a name (which corresponds to being "christened") and wrapped in a new piece of cloth. And on this day the family preceptor and Vaisnavas are feasted, a horoscope of the child is cast by an astrologer, and worship is offered to Kalaça. Ganeça and the tutelary deities of the ten directions. In the tenth or eleventh month the Annapraçana ceremony (when the child for the first time in its life takes rice and other solid food) is celebrated. Fresh cooking utensils and brandnew pieces of cloth are distributed and friends and relatives feasted on the occasion. Then several years are allowed to elapse, but when the boy comes to be seven or eight years old, he has to pass through a ceremony which is known as Karnabedha, i.e., the piercing of the ears. Again, on reaching the age of ten or eleven, his period of study commences, but does not continue long. The marriage ceremony is generally celebrated in the twelfth or the fourteenth year, the ceremony of *Upanayana* or conferring the sacred thread, taking place immediately before wedlock.

Girls are generally bestowed in marriage between the tenth and the twelfth year, though cases are not rare when they are married a little earlier or later. When both the parties close with the terms of marriage, they enter into what may be called an agreement, a lekhāpatra, equally binding upon both of them, to the effect—that if either of them fails or declines to give his son or daughter in marriage on the day appointed, the bond is forfeited to the other and the defaulter becomes liable to the payment of a certain fine, also specified in the contract as penalty. After this, and in order solemnly to ratify the terms of the agreement, a peculiar ceremony, known among them as 'eating rice', is observed. It consists in the fathers of the bridegroom and the bride giving each other a handful of rice and swearing that if either thereafter decline to give his son or daughter, as the case may be, in marriage to the daughter or son of the other, as agreed upon, he will have not only to pay the fine to the State but be liable to excommunication. If circumstances do not permit the father of the bride to celebrate the marriage in his own house, he first despatches a goat and three khandia (thirty seers) of rice, for a feast of which both the parties are to partake, to the bridegroom's house and, then, accompanies his daughter there. The Padhariya, as the priest of the Bathuris is styled, has to recite the nuptial mantras, and both the bride and

^{*} The padhariyas have their houses in Daspur, Karanjia, Mamuria, Noagaon, Cilakorhi, Sarda and Vispuri. Those of Adipur have become extinct. Their duties have now devolved upon the Brahmanas.

the bridegroom wear on the occasion cloths which are tinged with turmeric. But before the couple are finally united in wedlock, yet another ceremony, in the form of an episode, has to be performed. It is what is called by them "guapaita"-conferring the sacred thread, with a betel-nut, first upon the bridegroom and then the Here the outward manifestation of the nuptial tie is a thread with some mango-leaves fastened to it, which is tied by the priest round the wrists of both the husband and the wife. When the ceremony is over, the happy couple play with conch-shells. After that the bridegroom cracks his betel-nut of the 'guapaita' to pieces and offers a piece to his wife and himself begins to chew another. Then they put on new clothes and go to the house of the former. Here married women perform the ceremony of 'varana,' i.e., they bless and welcome the newly married pair and play various practical jokes upon them. A few days after this the friends and relatives are again invited to a feast in which rice touched by the bride is distributed amongst the guests. This is perhaps the most important feature of the whole marriage ceremony. It is only after this has been done that the bride is really looked upon as a member of her husband's family; but thereby a restriction is also put upon her: she will never more be allowed to cook food in the house of her father. After she has become a woman she is not allowed to touch any food or drink for seven consecutive days; on the eighth day she takes a bath, offers worship to the gods and becomes thenceforward entitled to a

place in her husband's bed. In the fifth month of her pregnancy the sādha is performed and in the seventh month what is known as kārya bandha.

There was also a peculiarity in their manner of disposing of the dead. When an aged person died, he or she was consigned to the flames; but when the deceased was young, it was the practice to bury the body. The obsequies observed on the two occasions were also different. Before the old man was placed on the funeral pyre, he was covered with a new piece of cloth, a tulasi plant was tied round his neck and gold and cows were given away. Ten days were set down as the period of mourning. The chief mourner, whose duty it was to set fire to the pile. and the other relatives of the deceased, were not to touch fish or meat during this period; and it was more particularly enjoined upon the former to have a pure body and a pure mind during this time. He had, besides, on each of these days of mourning to offer as oblations to the manes of the departed, a few sticks and some fried paddy. On the 10th day all the male members of the deceased man's family had to be shaved, the barber being allowed to take away the cloth of the chief mourner. On the 11th day Vaisnavas were feasted with curd and fried rice, and were each given some of the latter uncooked. On the 12th day, to bring the ceremony to a close, the friends and relatives of the dead were fed, and cloths and other presents made to the more respectable guests as marks of honour.

It is alleged by the Bhathuri Mahapatras that

it was their ancestors that brought the Bhañja-Rāja family from the west and helped them in establishing themselves in the place of the Virāta family. Formerly there were twentytwo zaminders or sāmantas under the Bhañja-Rāja. Four of these were Bāthuris, viz., the zamindars of Simlipāla, Ādipur, Daspur and Karañjia; and they were all honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. They were also each presented by the Bhanja Rajās, with a flag, a silver umbrella and a chámara—which they used to display on festive occasions. But all these are now gone, and the families are now trembling on the verge of poverty and ruin, being over head and ears in debt. The poor Bathuris dragging on their miserable existences in the hills have fallen so low that they look no better than the Kols, the Santāls and other aboriginal tribes. In some places they are even found to observe the rites and manners of the latter; for instance, they eat handias, domesticate cocks and hens and marry widows. It is for this, we think, that they are regarded by some as descendants of the original non-Aryan inhabitants of the place," although in reality descended from the ancient Aryan stock. The truth of this would become evident if the appearance and nature of the members of the higher families of the Bathuri tribe were carefully examined. For the information of the public we give below a representative picture of each of the Daspur and Karañjia families

^{*} H. H. Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I.

Many Bathuris live also in Keonjhar. They say that in bygone days they exercised a great influence over all the parts of Orissa. Their degeneration and decline commenced in the time of Rājā Pratāparudra. It has been shewn above by extracts from Siddhanta-dambara. written four hundred years ago, that in ancient times they and the Brāhmanas were upon a footing of equality. Balarāma Dāsa,* the author of the work, says that they used to study the Vedas side by side with the Brahmanas. Since the time of Prataparudra they have come to be regarded as 'gupta' (krypto, veiled) and unworthy of being touched. Yet they are believed to be in the good books of Visnu or Buddha.

The story of Creation by Cūnya Mahā-prabhu and Vedamātā, as narrated by the Bāthuris, closely resembles that told by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School. In the Svayambhū Purāna of the Buddhists of Nepal, Cūnya Mahāprabhu has been given the name of Svayambhu or Ādi Buddha, and Vedamātā or Ādimātā Dharma or Prajñā. In Siddhānta-dambara the vīja-mantra of the Bāthuris is said to be "য়ৗ য়ৢয়য়য়ড় য়য়:" (Om, salutation to Cūnya-Brahman). It need hardly be pointed out that this is exactly the vīja mantra of the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School also. Not only this vījā-mantra but the gāyatrī of the

A detailed account of Balarama Dasa and the Buddhists of his time will be given below.

Bāthuris is also to be found in Siddhānta-dambara. It runs as follows:—

''ग्रॉ सिद्धदेवः सिद्धधर्मः वरिष्यमस्य धीमधी। भर्मदेवो धीयो यो न सिद्धभुवो प्रचोदयात्॥" (Chap. XII)

"Om, let us meditate upon Him, who is self-revealed and self-sustained, who is Siddhadhruva (i.e. "the soul of Siddhabhiksu-sangha), who controls and directs our understanding, and who is the only object of adoration by all this animate and inanimate world."

It has been gathered from the lips of an aged padhariyā of the Bāthuris that in good old days yāyatrī was taken and observed by the great and pious Bāthuris at the time of their initiation into the religious life; but owing to ignorance nobody nowadays cares to practise it.

Just as it was enjoined upon the Buddhists of yore, at the time of their initiation to take the tricarana-mantra of "az no newfa, unitation, unitation, unitation, unitation, unitation, unitation, unitation, unitation of the Vedic gayatri, composed in imitation of the Vedic gayatri. It goes without saying that this newer form of gayatri is simply another version of the tricarana-mantra quoted above, its Siddha Deva, Siddha Dharma and Siddha-Dhruva, meaning nothing but Siddhārtha or Buddha, Dharma or Prajñā Pāramitā and Siddha-Sangha respectively.

In the remote past the Bathuris were also known by the name of Bāthula or Bātula. Images of the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people have been disinterred from the ruins of Simlipala and Adipurgarh. Amongst these are found images of Acokanta Marichi and Prajna Paramita (broken). From the strange combination of the gods and goddesses worshipped by them one might very reasonably consider, they belonged to the class of the Tantrika Buddhists springing from the Mahāyāna School. A broken image of Prajñā Pāramitā has been preserved in a hut in Adipur on the banks of the river Baitarani. Under the name of "Bāuri Thāku-(Bāuri goddess), this image was worshipped by the Padhariyas or priests of the Bathuris. I learnt from the old "Dākuās" of the Mahāpātra family of Dasapurgarh that there was also here a magnificent image of the 'Bāuri Thākurānī.' It is only about forty-five years ago that it was taken away by the Dhāruās. In the first chapter of Kaulāvali Tantra we find a reference to another work of the class, called Bātula or Bāthula-tantra. Madana-Pārijāta also we find an extract from, it is said, a great tantra named Bāthula. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Çāstri has discovered an ancient tantrika work in Nepal, and refers to it under the name of "Bātula Mahātantra.† Another work of this class, entitled Sarvajñanot-

^{*} Madana-Parijata published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 47.
† H. P. Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxvi.

tara Tantra, and written in the Gupta characters, has also been discovered in Nepal. In this Civa is the speaker and Sadānana and Ganeça are the listeners. "This was spoken after the completion of the Bāthula-tantra" The speaker in Siddhānta-dambara (from which the origin, the Gāyatrī and the vījamantra of the Bāuris have been extracted above,) is also Civa and the listener Ganeça. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether or not the word 'Bāthula' in 'Bāthula-tantra' was in any way connected with the Bāthula or Bāthuri tribe.

Though the Bāthuris had to give up (living as they did, under the sway of Hindu kings, moving in an atmosphere of unlimited influence of the Brāhmanas, and labouring under many other untoward circumstances) many of their ancient manners and customs,—nay, though some of them went to the length of renouncing their old religion and are now found offering worship to Rāma and Mahāvīra, yet their faith has not been wholly shaken, nor have they entirely given up their ancient beliefs and prejudices. They still worship Dharmarāja and Jagannātha who is popularly known as Buddha. In some places they are also found paying the homage of their heart to Çūnya-Brahman (vulgarly known as Badām).

[·] H. P. Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxxiv.

CHAPTER III.

BUDDHISM IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

In dwelling upon the history of the $B\bar{a}thuris$ we have attempted to throw a sidelight upon the existence of a Buddhistic Society in the backward districts of the several Gadajāts. We have then hinted that even so far back as the 16th century, although in its fallen condition, Buddhism was a prevalent and highly influential creed in Utkal, influencing the thoughts and lives and purifying the hearts and minds of many thousands of her neglected children outwardly professing other creeds. This side-hint, we are conscious, must have raised, in the minds of thoughtful and inquisitive seekers after truth and knowledge, such questions as, how could the religion of Gautama-Buddha have for centuries held its own under the terrible persecutions of the bigoted Brahmanas and the no less bigoted Hindu kings; how were these mute votaries of the Mahāyāna faith able to hoodwink the argus-eyed Brahmanas and their followers, and inwardly cherish a loving memory of the defunct creed and offer the incense of their loyal devotion at the altar of their god enshrined in the recesses of their hearts; how and where were these unknown and unrecognised little bands of crypto Buddhists maintaining

their ground, suffering, as they did, innumerable tortures and persecutions, and driven further and further beyond the pale of civilization and society?—These questions and many more must have presented themselves to every student of the history of the Bāthuri tribe; so we shall take this opportunity to solve them in the light of the records which we have been fortunate enough to rescue from the jealous clutch of concealment or oblivion.

The names of Achyutānanda Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa are held in high esteem by the pious Vaisnavas of Utkala—so much so that they have almost come to be household words with them. Besides these, there was also another, equally famous and equally honoured, viz., Chaitanya Dāsa. These six are the principal poets who, with hearts stirred by religious fervour, sang the glories of Cri Krsna, and have, in consequence, been generally regarded (although, wrongly, as we shall show hereafter) as interpreters and champions of Vaisnavism in Utkal. The pious poet Achyutānanda has left us an immortal effusion in his Cunya Samhita. From this we learn that he flourished in the Nīlāchala in the reign of King Pratāparudra of Utkal, about the same time as Chaitanya. Here we also find mention of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa,* as his contemporaries. But nowhere does he refer to

^{*} Cunya Samhita, Chap. X.

the illustrious Chaitanya Dāsa. This fact, together with the unmistakable sketch that the latter has drawn of himself in his Nirguna Māhātmya,* leads us to believe that he was not their contemporary but flourished shortly after them, and before the reign of Pratāparudra had drawn to a close. It is in any case beyond doubt that by the presence of all these six Dāsas (lit., followers or servants)† Utkal was honoured and sanctified early in the beginning of the 16th century.

We have already remarked that these six great souls, permeated through and through with love and devotion towards their Maker, are generally recognised as the principal Vaiṣṇava poets of Utkal, and their works regarded as the principal Vaiṣṇava literature of the country. But we hope and trust we shall be able to make good, from their own utterances, the fact that though they outwardly professed the Vaiṣṇava faith and propagated the Chaitanya cult, yet in their heart of hearts they were but sincere and staunch pioneers and champions of the long neglected, and almost forgotten, religion of the Mahāyāna School.

"नामतत्त्व चिक्रि चात्मातत्त्वज्ञानी नामत्रक्षे यार चाग्र। त्रज्ञदश्री संहि चवव्य चटद प्रमुद्धर सेहि दास॥" १६ च:।

^{*} Nirguna Māhātmya, Chap. XVI.

[†] The word 'Dāsa' means here 'one who has known Brahman as he is —a Brahmajnāni. Thus we find in Cunya Samhitā—

[—]He only, who has known the secret of name as well as the secret of the soul, ego, and has rested all his hopes in Brahman as represented by name, is the real secr of Brahman and can only be said to be the staunch and faithful follower or servant (Dūsa) (of the lord).

In his noble work, the Virātagītā, Balarāma Dāsa who is regarded as the foremost among these, puts the following lines, expressive of the tenets of the author, into the mouth of Arjuna, while speaking to Crī Kṛṣṇa—

"ती इर इप रेख नाड़ी। यूचपुद्ध यूचदेड़ी॥ बोदले यूच तीर देड़ी। भावर नाम विव काड़ी॥ यूचरे बक्कसिंग चाड़ि। सेबारे नाम विव रहि॥"

"Thou hast no form or figure. Thou art but the void personified and embodied. Though possessed of a body, thee I know to be Cunya, Void. How couldst thou have other names? Brahman dwells in Cunya, where there is nothing but name, i.e., sound."

These lines, if properly construed, can hardly mean anything but a clear enunciation of the doctrine of Cunya which is the kernel of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Further on we again hear Arjuna say :-

"तीर ग्राकप ग्रावेद । किना दैल्यारि नामळू इ॥"

"Çūnya, the Void, is thy form; Çūnya is thy body. How is it then that thou art carrying the name of (i.e. art called) Daityāri, Extirpator of Demons?"

And in reply to this, Crī Kṛṣṇa himself is made to say:—

"मी इर यून्यरे विश्वाम! से ठारे कड़ पब्हिनाम॥ मीती सन्देश लागिला। काइती नाम जात देखा॥" "Çūnya is my resting-place, i.e., when I give up this image, I become identified with Cūnya; and that is, I say, my real name. I am also puzzled to think how and where the name (you speak of) was given to me."

Not only in Virātagītā, but in all his works we meet with clear and unmistakable proofs of his belief in the Great Void as being the origin and the end of all the created world. Upon this one point is founded the whole fabric of his theology and religion. Thus in his Brahmānḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā, we find Crī Kṛṣṇa giving the following description of himself to Arjuna:—

"केडिन बिली डेचर्जन। महाप्रत्यरे मीर जन्म॥"

"There was none (prior to me) O Arjuna. I owe this life of mine to the Great Void, i.e., I came out of it, or I am one with it."

At length in the mangalācharaṇa of his Sārasvata-Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa delivers himself of the following prayer to the Maker—

"जब वर्ध श्री पुरुषोत्तमः। चिनादि च्रीत परमन्त्रः॥ १ चय्यकं पुरुष निराकार इति। सर्व्य चटि चच्छु नद्मारूप घरि॥ २ नाहि रेख रूप तीर श्रीविद्यंपुरुष। विचार गीचर ही रहा प्रकाश ॥ ३ सन-नवन-चित-चेतन नाहि तीर। कृत्यं ध्रम्यं सर्व्य ठारे सिद्ध न कर॥ ४ महामून्य तीर नाम। चीकार मन्द्र एने वेदान चागम॥ ५ "

(१म पश्चाय।)

"All glory to thee, the soul of religion, the blessed First Being. I pray to thee, the

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self-sustained Brahman of Brahmans. Ye unrevealed Person, O Hari (the Destroyer of all troubles and cares), O Lord, thou hast no form, no body. Yet thou art existent inside all bodies, assuming the forms of their souls. O Mighty Omniscient Being, having no form, no image, Thou dost yet reveal thyself to Visnu. Thou art destitute of the mind, the eyes (the senses), the heart, and consciousness, and thou art always above and independent of all works and all religious observances and practices. Thou art (appropriately) styled the Great Void or Cypher. We learn from the Vedānta, that the letter at first originated in the void."

—An exposition of the Divine Power, wholly after the doctrine of Buddhism! He is not described as a cypher in the sense of being an airy nothing, but as the essence, the total abstraction, of all powers and activities. God is not a whit denied; on the contrary He is acknowledged to be the origin and the soul of all existence. The drift of these lines is clearly this—God is Nature suspended.

That this was the cardinal principle of his religion is further proved, if further proof be necessary, by the following words that Crī Kṛṣṇa is made to say to Arjuna in the same work (a little below the benedictory preface)—

"शीइरि वीई खेडो यथ पास्पुसुत। त्रह्ममहिमा तीते विदिवा वेदाना॥ महायू चकु जे त्रह्म वीखि कहि। सि त्रह्मद्व दीदला निरञ्जन देही ॥

निरञ्जन ठारु हेला परम अवतार। परम ठावरु जीव ही इला वाहार॥"

सारस्वतगीता १म अध्याय।

"Crī Kṛṣṇa said 'Hear me, O son of Pāṇḍu. I shall tell you in detail of the glories of Brahman. The Great Void which is said to be Brahman, (once) assumed the form of a human being (Nirañjana). And thus (out of the Great Void) came out a grand and glorious Being."

Thus is the theory of incarnation of the Great Void maintained and explained by these veiled followers of Buddha, largely influenced, as they were, by the religion of Cri Chaitanya.

From the above extracts it is evident that the Crī Kṛṣṇa and Brahman of Balarāma Dāsa is absolutely one and the same with his Mahā-Cūnya, Cūnya-Puruṣa and Nāma. All that can be said in defence of those who regarded these pious and devout souls as Vaiṣṇava poets is that their religious lives and views were moulded and regulated, to a considerable extent, by the preachings of the Vaiṣṇava masters. And no wonder, considering the atmosphere they breathed and the pressure brought to bear upon them. Besides, the want of a living example and influence of the Buddhistic faith in their midst helped the Vaiṣṇava creed to gain the upper hand in regulating their faith.

Thus we find Jagannātha Dāsa expressing himself in his Tulā-bhinā—

"सकल मन्त्र तीयं ज्ञान । वीइत युन्य री प्रमाण ॥ (p. 20.)

रीते कि इत्तुंगी पार्वती । ए सन्त्रे युन्य रे प्रकृति ॥ (p, 20.)

महायून्य रू यून्य जात । से भून्य प्रणव सम्भूत ॥

प्रचव परमञ्ज कि । सकल भास्त्र से बीलाइ ॥" (p. 21.)

- "The drift and aim of all mantras, pilgrimages and knowledge points to the validity of Cūnya."
- "All those that I have spoken to you of, O Pārvati, do but dwell in (i.e., are but manifestations of) the Void."
- "Out of the Great Void came the Void: and from the Void itself came Pranava (Om), which is said by all the Castras, to be the Parama, the Finalê."

Chaitanya Dāsa also says in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya—

> "बाला पुरुष भगवानं। पाला छपर ताकु चिन ॥ १८० ए बाला पर घटि तहा। चिक्रिले किछ र वसन ॥ १८२ ए टेड गेले तहा योर । महाग्यर वित्रामंद्र ॥ १८६ से बाला तहाक जगिकि । वाला योदला गांव चिक्रि ॥ १८॥ पिछक छाड़ि गले पाण । से घट इक महाग्रेय ॥ १८५ ग्रामपुरुष सके यिव । खीं जिले बार्ड न पाइक ॥ १८६

"Ātmā Purusa, the soul, is the Bhagavat (the repository of all attributes). But know Him (the

Nirguna) to be above and independent of the soul, i.e., the attributes. Brahman is above this Ātman; by knowing Him all the worldly ties are cut asunder. After leaving this body, we go to, and mix up with, Brahman, and rest (eternally) in the Great Void. The soul is ever conscious of, and living in, Brahman and is as though smarting under the (physical) restraints. When the life will depart from the body, the body will become Mahā-Çūnya. (But) I shall live on in the Çūnya-Purusa, never to be found even after careful searches."

We find from the above that Chaitanya Dāsa's Nirguna-purusa clearly means a total abstraction of all phenomenal activities. His Nirguna does not mean 'devoid of attributes,' but above and independent of attributes, of which the worlds are but manifestations.

Achyutānanda Dāsa's treatment of this doctrine of Çūnya in his Çūnya-Samhitā is more lucid and more philosophical. His Çūnya Puruṣa is the only actor on the illusory stage of the world. He observes:—

"भला पचारिलु गुपत सन्ति । ग्र्नपुरुष ग्र्न पर बन्दी ॥ ग्रनपुरुष खदासरे रहे । ग्रनपुरुष सनु साया भाये ॥ ग्रनपुरुष दयालु चटर । ग्रनपुरुष सन्देवि रहि ॥ ग्रनपुरुष करे नट घट । ग्रनपुरुष जाणे इन्द्लूट ॥ ग्रनपुरुष ग्रनरे सारर । सारि ग्रन पुणा गति करर ॥"

"The hidden mystery (of creation) has been well laid bare to me. (It is this). The Cūnya Puraṣa has become (as it were) a prisoner in

Cunya. Though He is the master of all these illusions, having power to spread and draw them in, yet He Himself is quite indifferent to, and keeps Himself quite aloof from, all these. He is exceedingly kind, being always anxious to free us from the influence of Maya and dwells inside every created thing. From here He, well versed in craft and cunning, stirs up all the differences and discords (out of sheer kindness, so that we may not lose Him in the illusions). when in the course of these one murders another, it is really He who murders Himself (the same Cunya Purusa being inside both the murderer and the murdered) and frees the murdered from all bondage and gives him the reward of a happy emancipation."

Then he goes on to describe mystically how the Cūnya Purusa as Jīvātman has created a world of bondage for himself and how he is reigning there.

"श्ना मन्ते युनापुरुष धरा । ग्ना पुरुष भाषे दश्चि होए। ग्ना पुरुष वैदिक्ति वेदरे। एकादश इन्द्र वेदि सक्ति। हादश दलाह गढ़नायक। बढ़ सकरे पञ्चाश सकर। गड़ चारि पागे एमाने हारो। गूना पुरुष संख्यो रहिक्छ।

दख्यु याद राजा हो दख लरा॥
सर्वदीय वाधा न याद चये॥
मारिवा दच्छा घटद ताहारि॥
यत यान्ति दया चमा पायरि॥
काम कोध मी इ हार जागन्ति॥
पविष्य प्रकृति पश्च मनत॥
वास्तरि नाड्री से गुड्यु पायर॥
यून्य पुरुषकु यान्ति चावरि॥
यून्य होद भीग्य करद राज्य॥
यून्य परे रहि लीला कब च्छि॥

न च्छुभन्ति ताकु पविश्व जया। चलगे रिष्ठ करे भिन्ना भिन्न ॥ गून्त पुरे गून्त पुरुष रहे। गून्त भजन निराकार ध्याये॥ दानिंग चर्चरे करे भजन। गून्त पुरुष निराकारध्यान॥"

"Cūnya Purusa can be taken only through the Cunya Mantra. He is a king with all the emblems of royalty. (These emblems do, however, mean but restraints put upon himself); and such is the strength and force of these restraints and bonds, the sources of all evils, that though lord of them all, He cannot shake them off. He has innumerable opponents and enemies, and is very anxious to free Himself from them. goodness, mercy, love of peace and forgiveness, about him, He is passing his days, as it were, inside a dungeon, always trying to get out and always opposed. Lust, passion and (mental) infatuation are keeping watch at the gate; and twelve watchmen are in charge of the fortification. The twenty-five causes, the five minds, the six mystic circles of the body and the tifty letters, and the seventy-two veins and arteries-all these are mounting guard near and about the fortification. By these sentries the Cunya Purusa is surrounded on all sides. O how great is the prowess of the Cunya Purusa!-Though a pure and simple abstraction, yet He is exercising all the rights of royalty. He is, however, quite aloof from all these, and only diverts Himself thus—in no way affected or polluted by them. He is not within the reach of the twentyfive causes, rather He creates differences among them from afar. The Cunya Purusa is

living, as it were, inside a Cūnya castle, praying to, and meditating upon, the imageless Cunya, by means of the thirty-two letters."...

These lines, however crude the philosophy underlying them, mean that the Cunya Purusa, living within ourselves as our soul or Ego, can be realised only if we can throw off the shackles of nature and her concomitant fears and temptations; and that, though living within us, He is no party to any of our natural propensities and can be reached only by annihilating the mind and resting all our thoughts upon Him as Cunya Purusa.

Then he clearly and unhesitatingly rejects. the accepted forms of worship, and formulates others which will be hailed as bright and undying sparks from the great fire of Buddhism. words are :-

"चलद ब्रह्मान्त नपरे चिक्त । निराकार भनि मा दुर्गा देवी। ं. तुये पचारिल परम सन्धि। ः चङ्गन्यास करन्यास हिं नाहि। जर्बकर योक्टिकर तुसर्थ। जर्रमुख करि चिताकु ध्याप। निराकार मन्त्रं कच्छ चनरे। दाविम पचर उदार कर। ्रचली येश्ने अन्दर रहे 🕮 🖖 चचल सुमन निष्ठलं घर। ग्रंबपुड्ड तुं लये कर॥ दिशिव ग्रंब दिन्यमान काया। निराकार इप्, चडप्रदृहा॥"

युव युव मद्दायुवर गच्छि एसं निर्लेषक बायानि सेवि॥ ध्याव धारणा पादिमान विधि ॥ ः स्थानभक्त सुद्रा कि च्छिटि नाहिँ॥ - जर्दमुख करि कर तुख्य ॥ विक्ट सन्धि परीखक् चाई॥ वील बाबू सर कर्ड मुखरे ॥ न्यन न चलु चिता चकर॥ ामक्ति तैसने ज्योतीन्द्र ध्यांये h (

"He is above the fourteen worlds; and being himself void goes up to the Great Void. Mother Durgā is worshiping the Formless and is always engaged in praying to the Nirlepa, the Absolute. Thou hast laid bare the deepest and most valuable secret. We do now know that the religious injunctions of meditation, steady mental abstraction and the like, the touching of certain parts of the body and certain gesticulations of the hands in worship, the peculiar intertwining of the fingers for the same purpose,-all these are absolutely void and meaningless. We have only to fold our hands together and to lift them up, palms upwards, and with the face decorated with the sacred marks on the forehead and turned up towards the heaven, to offer our prayers. The muttering of set prayers, the telling of the beads of the rosary, are all done away with: and we have, instead, only to look inward-within ourselves. With upturned face, we have to utter the Cunva mantra from the mystic circle in the throat. And this mantra is nothing but to utter the thirty-two letters, with the eyes fixed upon the circle midway between the eyebrows. When the temple of the body will be motionless, then has the motionless lord of all lustres to be meditated upon. Then the mind has to be made firm and steady and fixed upon and absorbed in the Cūnya Purusa. Then will you see the bright and beautiful Cunya form of Him who has no form, no figure and yet has a body."

Although professing to be Vaisnavas, they interpret the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in a new way, and one quite different from the ordinary

Vaiṣṇava point of view. The following extract from the writings of Achyutānanda and Jagannātha will show how under the veil of Vaiṣṇavism this sect propagates in reality some of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna School:—

- (a) "जीव भावा राधे विल परम सुरारि।" (शून्यसंहिता २य प:।)
- "Rādhikā is the Jīvātman and Murāri the Paramātman.
 - (ঠ) ''एकाङ ब्रह्मरूप छीद्र। राधिका सङ्के भावगाकी॥ गोलक नित्य एडा कडि। यून्य देखल ए बीलाई.॥''
- "One and the same with Rādhikā, as being part and parcel of the same body, Brahman, approachable only through the heart, resides in Golaka which is nothing but the Cunyadeul or void."

 (Jagannātha in his Tulābhinā.)
 - (८) ''परम भाकाटी मधाय्त्य विखि भाव। एडिटि भद्दपानन्द नाम तत्त्व दुख। चढन संगद्द करें राधा प्रेम भीख॥''
- "Know the Paramātman to be the Mahā-Çūnya. Know him, in short, to be the formless source of bliss, to be nothing but the name itself." (Çūnya Samhita, Ch. 22.)

Here Achyutānanda makes a clearer statement of his doctrines. Hence it is evident that the interpretation given to the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by these writers does not at all tally with the mythological accounts of the Vaiṣṇavas. The whole subject has been idealised and elaborated

in such a way as to signify the relations of man's soul to Paramātman. Jagannātha Dāsa has openly declared that Vrndavana, Mathura and other holy places should not be localised on any map or identified with the actual villages of the same names. In reality they signify Mahā-Cūnya or the Great Void :-

> "क्रचर कीडारस एडि। मथुरापुर महाग्र्य।

गुपत इन्दावन काहि॥ गीपनगर सेष्ट्रजान॥"

-"Such is the meaning of the love-feats of Krsna. Vrndāvana is really a secret place. Mathurapura means nothing but the Great Void, and this is also the meaning of Gopanagara."

(Tulābhinā, Ch. 9.)

The following extract from Brahmāṇḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā of Balarāma Dāsa reads like another version of the origin of the universe given by Rāmāi Pandit* during the ascendancy of the Pala Kings :-

> ''ये काली म खिला संसार। न चिले दिवस रजनी। न धिली धावर पवन। न थिले देवासुर नर। न दिले प्रस्य तेल वस । सी काली शून्य मीर द्वा ब्रह्माण्ड मोर गर्भे लेहि।

न धिला चन्ट दिवाकर। न थिला मेद मेदा मूमि॥ न विखे शनीर तारागण॥ न धिली संसार सागर॥ न चिले ब्रह्मा विशा हरे॥ एमले गला की टिकल्प॥ रखिलि ब्रह्मक्प होइ॥

^{*} Vide Cunya Purana, published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, pp. 1-2. ·49566

के हिन थिले है फर्जुन।
एमनी केते दिन पने।
स्टिष्ट करिते वाञ्हा हैला।
से विन्दु इस्तरे ठेलि।
से विन्दु विय भाग हैला।
चिवौजक विय देव।

महाशू चक्प भीर ज्या। दया बिख्ला भीर चिते॥ भी चङ्ग विन्दु उक्कलिखा॥ वि चङ्गुले गलाइखि॥ विवीज रस वलाइला॥ होइले ब्रह्मा विष्य शिव॥"

-"When the world was not in existence, when there was neither the sun nor the moon, neither day nor night, neither land nor water, neither the fixed earth nor the inconstant wind, nor were there the sky and the stars in it, when there was no god, no demon, no human being; when there was no world, no ocean, no force, no fire; when there was no Brahmā, Visnu or Hara, then was Cunya my form, and thus did crores of kalpas pass away. Then did I assume the form of Brahman with the Brahmanda inside me. There was none, O Arjuna, (to bring me out). I came out of the Great Void. After a pretty long time had thus passed away, my heart was moved and I felt inclined to create the world. Then out of my person did seed begin to ooze. brushed it off with three fingers of my hand. The seed, thus brushed off, became divided into three parts, charged with three different qualities and out of these three parts of the seed did the three gods of Brahmā, Visnu and Civa come."

In his Gaņeça-Vibhūti-ṭīkā, we find Balārāma Dāsa attempting at a description of his Çūnya Puruṣa. He says

> "बनाकारदपं ग्रन्थं ग्रन्थं मध्ये निरञ्जनः। निराकारमञ्ज्योतिः सज्जीतिर्भगवानयम्॥"

"The Çūnya is devoid of all forms and shapes. In the centre of this Çūnya is Niranjana, a formless and brilliant figure. It is that shapeless and formless brilliant figure which is Bhagavat, the master of all attributes."

Achyuta Dāsa in his Cūnya-Samhitā, Anādi-Samhitā, and Anākāra Samhitā, uses the terms 'Anākāra,' 'Nirākāra', 'Niranjana', 'Ajara', 'Anādya' and 'Akṣaya' as synonymous with the term Cūnya; and these terms have always been employed to describe the indescribable Divine Being. But he has not, like the other Buddhistic preachers of this age, been completely able to shake off the belief in the gods and goddesses as intermediate beings between man and Cūnya. He exclaims:

"वीलानि ग्रुष् ग्रुष वजसुत, किश्वा तीते बुक्ताइ! प्रथमरे ग्रुष विद्या पढ़ावनि ब्रह्मभाग दूरे थोई॥ ब्रह्मा विश्वा रुद्र ता परे दुगाँये पड़ान्ति भायेर ग्रुष्। साम जनुक्क भयर्थ ए भादि पड़ान्ति भाय ठानुर।"

"Guru, the spiritual preceptor, says—Hear me, O Vrajasuta, I shall explain (it) to you in detail. Aim, at the outset, at a knowledge of the Guru, leaving aside all attempts at an acquisition of the knowledge of the Brahman. Know Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Durgā as the first preceptors, being embodiments of the different attributes of the Godhead, and you will gradually learn of the primitive Thākura, the first and foremost God, by studying the Sāma, Yajūs, Rik and Atharva Vedas."

But his highly spiritual culture convinced him of the uselessness of merely studying books, and he draws a nice distinction between the mere reading of them and an intelligent assimilation of the principles therein laid down with the whole head and heart. The mind will have to be annihilated, and only those principles which help us in identifying ourselves with the Brahman, should be scrupulously observed.

"कीड़िये गुटिये फला पढ़ालि रज तमे मन रखि। ब्रह्मर भेट तहि किक्टिन पाद कर्यमार्गे मन जिंग॥" ह्रूप

"You have learnt, although not without great trouble, the alphabets of religion and the words produced by their permutations and combinations, whilst your mind was completely under the influence and control of the lower attributes of ignorance and passion. These attributes, as opposed to the third and highest attribute, viz., Sattva, i.e., the spiritualistic tendency, drag us down and keep us bound to the way of karman, work, for salvation. So having the mind absorbed in work (materialism), you have not been able to find the real nature of the Brahman."

"गीता भागवत पुराण पढ़िवा काइवा चातुरी विव। तस्त्र चनाकार नाम ब्रह्ममेद्द न पाई व्यथे देव॥" १०२ (चनाकारसंदिता)

"(Unless you are bent upon the salvation of your soul) you will read the Gītā, the Bhāgavata, the Purānas and yet learn nothing but

tricks and cunning (to impose upon the worldly-minded people). All your pains will be fruitless. You will know nothing of the mystery of the conception of Godhead as devoid of all forms and images, which means a complete unification and identification of the *name* and the conception of Brahman."

It is evident from these lines that Achyuta Dāsa laid no stress upon the study of the Hindu religious çāstras. We may study them as much as we like and yet be not a whit improved. Until and unless we thoroughly digest the knowledge that Brahman is absolutely nirākāra and is wholly identical with the nāma itself, we shall be grovelling in the darkness of ignorance and passion. It is also doubtful whether he had any faith in the Brāhmanic customs, though he had not been completely able to rid himself of allegiance to them.

At the end of his work he refers to the scriptures, the main themes of which, he says, are to sing the glories of Çrī Kṛṣṇa; and his own Anākāra-Samhitā is simply an epitome of all these. Moreover, the Çrī Kṛṣṇa of these scriptures is not the Çrī Kṛṣṇa of Vaiṣṇavism: it is a pure and simple pseudonym, so to speak, for the Anākāra Çūnya Puruṣa of Buddhism, adopted, as appears likely, to throw dust in the eyes of the jealous Brāhmaṇas. Except for occasional glimpses, to be found in his works, of the spiritual region of the class of thinkers to which he belongs, we have no other proofs to establish their faith in Buddhism. It

is for this that they have generally passed for devout Vaisnavas. But to any careful student of religion these glimpses will be quite sufficient to illumine the whole course of their religious tendency. Thus he says:—

"बनाकार के योत्र आसं दिशा यन्य मने कर सार।
योक प्वचरण ग्रस्य प्रिला दीन अच्युत पामर ॥
कविश्र संहिता अधीक्तर गीता वंशानुस्तवासरे।
स्पवंशानु वाविंग खण्ड चिनि भविष्य तेर खण्डरे॥
पद पदावली लच लच ग्रस्य सनु योक प्यमहिमा।
तो भागे कहिलूँ तज्जुमार त्र आसारस्ततसीमा॥
र अध्याय गुपत करिष रखिलु वेलरे हीन प्रकाश।
योक प्यचरणे ग्रस्य प्रिला पामर अच्युतदास॥
तज्जुल तारि भाषणे तरिनि योक पद पुरु भविः॥"

"Only do think of (i.e., firmly adhere to the injunction laid down in) the Great Brahma-Samhitā which deals with the Anākāra. And with this advice to you all, the low and sinful Achyuta Dāsa (meaning himself) resigns himself absolutely to the grace of Çrī Kṛṣṇa. All the scriptures, viz., the thirty-six Samhitās, the hundred and eight Gītās and the seven series of the Vamçānucharita, the twenty-two volumes of the Upa-Vamçānucharita and the thirteen volumes of the Bhaviṣya, all the religious hymns and songs and lyrics, and hundreds of thousands of other books,—all sing the glory of Çrī Kṛṣṇa. O son of Vraja (i.e., devotee of Çrī Kṛṣṇa), I have

already told you of the subject-matter of Brahma-Sārasvata-Gītā. But this chapter (meaning probably a full discussion of Crī Kṛṣṇa) has been kept secret from you—only to be divulged hereafter. And now the mean and humble Achyuta Dāsa bids adieu to you taking refuge at the feet of Crī Kṛṣṇa (i.e., resigning himself to His grace). And now, through His grace, not only he, but the whole line of Vṛaja-Sutas, will be saved. In the realm of Anākāra dwells the unrevealed Hari, and Achyuta has thrown himself completely at His mercy."

From the above quotation, it is clear that this class of Vaisnava poets did not attach much importance, if any at all, to the Vedas and the Purāṇas of the Hindus. They had their own scriptures, composed by the highest and greatest amongst them; and a scrupulous adherence to the injunctions and principles here enunciated they considered a better passport for the attainment of Mokṣa.

However veiled the religious views of these poets may have been generally, they, sometimes, out of the fulness of their hearts, allow the expression of their faith to flow in clear and limpid streams. Thus in his Viṣṇu-garbha, we find Chaitanya Dāsa saying:—

"श्रीचर पुरुष से नाहि रुपवर्षे। एषिति नाहि तार श्रटे महाग्न्य॥ रूपवर्षे न होई से श्रद्भ तार देशो। भूत्यर सङ्गते से भूत्य होई याई॥ श्रद्भ श्रद्भ से सक्षा देवाकु नोहिन स्पमा। चौह ब्रह्मास्ट खोजिली नाहि प्रतिसीमा॥ प्रति तुल्य लच्य से न भासिलं कोहि।

एमना महिमा से भलेखर देही ॥

गून्य सङ्ते से भून्य भून्य भून्य स्वापी।

गून्य सङ्ते मिशि भिक्त सक्त स्थानन्यापी।

गून्य हिंटि ताहार भटई निजवर।

गून्य शिर्ष से मून्ये करई विहार॥"

"Devoid of all forms and figures, He is no subject of experience. There is nothing beyond or above Him in the whole of the Mahāçūnya."

"He has no form, no colour. His body may be said to be the absence of all forms and structures. He is Çūnya, being one and the same with Çūnya."

"He is devoid of all forms and destitute of all colours; amongst the thousand and one gods there is none to be any match for Him. Search the whole of the fourteen worlds but nowhere will you find any limit to Him. Even hundreds of thousands of gods will be no whit of a rival for Him—so great is the glory and greatness of that Formless Person. He is mixed up with Çūnya, He is Cūnya, His form is Çūnya, and identified with Çūnya, He is ever over the whole of space."

"His proper home is in Çūnya; and dwelling in Çūnya He makes Himself manifest in Çūnya."

What more convincing proof of their staunch faith in Buddhism can one expect? Here the author has risen above all dread of persecution, and, for once at least, makes bold to announce himself clearly, and without the least shade of ambiguity, as embracing the doctrine of the Void.

But the above are not the only passages that betray these krypto Buddhists. In their scriptures numberless pebbles of faith lie on the shore, and one has only to pick up and examine a few to know that they are but fragments of the mighty Buddhistic structure.

Balarāma Dāsa thus expounds the theory in his Brahmānda-Bhugola-gītā by way of an address to Arjuna.—

"Listen, O Arjuna, with attention—I am going to explain to you (the principles of) the Bhāgavata. Out of the Great Void came the Void and out of this came moha, illusion." (Chap. II). "That which is called nigama is in reality the Great Void. It is simply because the end of the Vedas cannot be reached, that they were given the name of Nigama. That which is called Kalpataru (lit. a tree bearing, as its fruits, the objects of our desires), is really an embodiment of the Formless!"

[&]quot;ग्रय चर्जुन मन दे ६। कि इता भागवत फं६॥ महाश्रूच ६ श्रूच देखा। छै श्रूच फलामी इत्तेखा।" (श्रय चथ्यायः)

[&]quot;नियम वोलि जाए। कहि। सहायून्यटी से घट है। वैद जेहि कि न यमिला। तेशा नियम नाम हेला॥ कलपतरटी जाए। कहि। निराकारटी रूप सेहि॥ से ठारू रस बीज गलि। से रस बीज फल फलि॥ गुक्त बोलि ता जाए। कहि। सुधा रसटी से घट रू॥"

The above quotations from the great poets of the 16th century leave little room for doubt that Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, which is the cardinal doctrine of the Madhyamika Philosophy, was also the highest goal of their religious aspirations. It is indeed the case that we very frequently meet with such words of Hindu Philosophy as Bhāgavata, Nigama, Jñānatattva, Haribhakti, Kṛṣṇa-kathā and others their works; the most casual student of these will, however, admit that belief in Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, is still the mainspring of their religious life. Balarāma Dāsa himself has unmistakably hinted that there is nothing of any value whatsoever in mere nomenclature. His point is, whatever name we may apply, we always refer to one and the same Supreme Being, conceivable in the form of Om and identical with Çunya Brahman. It is for this reason that the pious Vaisnava poets are found frequently to allude to the name as the sole essence of the universe. Balarāma Dāsa gives the following account of himself in his Guptagītā or Chattica—

"Highly pleased to hear this, Arjuna fell prostrate at the feet of Crī Kṛṣṇa and said 'How will the occult Guptagītā be made known? Be pleased, O my Lord, to tell me through whose lips you will make it public. Crī Hari answered, 'Hear me O Arjuna. I have a favourite son (disciple) named Paduma. He will have a son under the name of Aniruddha. He will, in his turn, pass away in course of time. I, who am known in the Vedas as Brahman Himself, will in

the Kaliyuga, assume the form of Dāru-Brahma (Jagannātha). There will then be a king under the name of Pratāparudra. In his time from Somanātha will descend Aniruddha by his wife Jamunā. In one of the chapters of Guptagītā it is given out that he will be named Balarāma Dāsa, through whose lips, says Balarāma Dāsa, will pour out the nectar of the precepts of the Guptagītā."

The following lines, also from his Pranava Gītā,* are well deserving of quotation in this connection:—

"The Brāhmaṇas listened attentively to my discussion of the principles of the Praṇava Gītā, which are in reality the occult principles of the

¹ "ग्रुषि चर्ज्न हपुति इदला। चरवाते पिंड पचारिला॥ ४२ गपतगीता ये चीदकी गुपत । क लिरे वैमन्ते देव छकत ॥ ४३ काहा मुखरे एहा कहाइव। ए कथा प्रभुभीते चात्रा द्वेव ॥ ४४ श्रीहरि बीदली ग्रव पर्व्तन। पद्म घटइ मीर नन्दन॥ ४५ ताहार सत चनिरुध हैव। से पुणि कालरे चय होइव ॥ ४६ कलियमे दाक्तश्रशरीर ॥ ४० म ये वेदक् ब्रह्म अवतार। कदद तीते सी काल संग्रये॥ ४८ प्रसापकट नामे देव राए। सीमनाथ नामी पुत्र ताकार। चनिक्ष जात ताहार घर ॥ ४० जसुना नामे ताहार भारिया। पनिरुध हेव ताहार तनुजा ॥ ५० गुपतगीता चध्याये प्रकाश ॥ ५१ ताहार नाम वसराम दास। चध्याय करि सेष्ठ जिवे मरि॥ ४२ वलरामदास गुपत कारि । भावरे भविची वसरामदास्या' ५३ ता मुखे कडाइवा गीतारस। (३४म प्रध्याय ।)

^{*} In some MSS, the name is Pralamba-Gită.

Gītā based upon the Vedānta Cāstra, from upon the Mukti-mandapa. But when they found that it was I who had done this, ceaseless was the torrent of abuse that poured upon me. Even Mahārāja Pratāparudra scolded me severely in great wrath and said "What right have you, a Cudra, to utter the Pranava (Om) and discuss the principles of the Vedas? Certainly it is wrong on your part to do so." Hearing this I smiled gently and said "Hear me, O protector of men and master of elephants,-Cripati (lit., husband of Cri, goddess of good fortune, i.e., Bhagavat) is in no body's exclusive possession (as birth-right). He is his who is a good and pious man—be he a Brāhmana or a Chandāla by birth; of the kind and merciful Jagannātha no body has any monopoly. The vipras are simply boasting, O King, when they say that he is theirs. Vain men, they say this out of moha, sheer ignorance. I can make good my case by quoting at random from the Vedas. Upon this the vipras got furious and cried :-- "Ask him immediately to do this." And at this the king ordered Well then maintain your position, O Vaisnava, as you say.' I replied, 'Hear me, O King, You seem to have been highly annoyed. However, be pleased, O King, to go to the place of our King with the whole troop of your Brāhmanas. With the grace of our Lord he will explain by quoting lines from the Vedas and the Vedanta all that you may be pleased to ask of him.' Then the King strengthened himself upon his point as far and as much as he could, and triumphantly went there. In the meanwhile the

vişayı (adviser) went and informed chhāmukarana (private secretary) of what had happened. But afraid to go back home, I remained at the foot of the banian tree. At dead of night Narahari smiled pleasantly and said merrily, 'I do always dwell in the heart of the great lotus (sahasradala-padma). Not aware of this the king and the Brahmanas quarrel with my votaries. (But they should know that) my votary is my life (so to speak).' Saying this He went away.

The next morning the king remembered (my challenge) and came (to my place) with the vipras. Dull and ignorant from birth and fond of quarreling, the king was very angry and quarrelled with the votaries. He had a cudra brought before him and ordered him again to explain the Vedas. Upon this I became all of a sudden unconscious of my body, i.e., became absorbed in a trance and lived in the soul. And thus I thought within myself, 'I have been slighted before the king. The vipras about him have laughed me to scorn. Murāri, the destroyer of all fears and dreads-O Narahari, do come to me. I do beseech Thee.' And when I was thus praying within myself, I heard the reassuring voice of Hari-Damodara, dotingly fond of his votaries-standing before me in a vision out of pity and kindness. Then thus reassured, and concentrating my mind upon the thought of Cri Hari, I said "Hear me, O best of Kings, it is no fault of ours then that you want to hear the principles of the Vedas from the lips of a Cūdra. If you do this, you will lose in virtue. This Jada is dumb and ignorant and maintains himself by begging

alms in Ksetra. You yourself know this and will not therefore, I pray, be offended at what I say.' But Kṛṣṇa whispered Sārasvata knowledge in the ears of Jada and I placed my hand upon his head. He looked up and smiled. The Vipras said, 'If he can say this, we shall acknowledge ourselves defeated by a dāsa (çūdra).' Hearing this my indwelling spirit got enraged and called aloud, 'Be pleased, my friend Jada, to say your say.' Then Jada said 'Hear me, O king, I shall clearly tell you the details of creation. From the Nitya, the Eternal and Absolute, sprang Cunya into existence, out of which came Pranava. From this Pranava again did Cabda, come out and from the Cabdas the Vedas were developed; and from these again the whole creation came into being. This is what we learn from the Vedanta." At this the king and all the vipras present were completely taken aback. After a pause the king said out of great delight, 'Hear me O Dasa. Siddhi is certainly within your reach. You are no doubt a very great man blessed in the possession of all knowledge. It cannot be that this çudra has said all this; (he must have done so under an inspiration from you) who are the master of all secrets. Be pleased to delight me by pouring into my ears the honey of Bhedajnāna, (knowledge arising out of the consciousness of difference). This cudra Jada is a great dullard. He can never speak of the beauties of the Vedas; otherwise these will be disgraced and lowered in the estimation of the public. You are a well-informed and wise man. Please

explain to me the beauties of the Vedanta." I was much pleased to hear the words of the king and thus prayed "O Chakradhara, O Dāmodara, you who are so fond of your votaries, and who are the overthrower of the proud and the vainglorious, and the extirpator of demons, you have saved me in this crisis. Be pleased again to help me up so that I may so successfully explain the essential principles of the Vedānta before the vipras that the king will be highly pleased to hear me." My mind was then filled with delight at the idea that with the kind favour of my Lord I shall be able to disperse the cloud of doubt that had gathered over the minds of the vipras; and it was soon concentrated upon the thought of the Lord. Then slowly but steadily He became visible before my mental eyes and the Bhedajñana, in the form of a dialogue between Cri Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, illumed the recesses of my mind. And this instruction delivered in response to the request of Crī Sāmanta Deva, which I learnt from the lips, as it were, of the Creator, is the honeyed essence of the Pranava Gupta-Gītā of this humble Balaram Dāsa (i.e., my humble self)." 1

[⊥] "शुकाति समक्रय परै विग्र । विवार ग्रंचिलि सधीरे। तहिं देखिले विष मोते।

वेदान्तभास्त्र गीता गोप्य ४ प्रवासीतार विचारे ॥ ४ धिकार गालि देले जेते ॥ ७ केते कड़िव ताङ्गालि। राजाङ भागे सी गृहारि॥ = ण्यापस्ट्रसहाराजाः कीपे बीदले बड् पर्या॥ ८ प्रयव वैद्वादमान। कि पिधकार ग्रहणान ॥ १०

From Balarāma Dāsa's account of himself we learn that it was during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra Deva that he first came into prominence. For some time he was held in esteem and treated with consideration by this king, though afterwards for certain reasons

णमन उचित नी हर।. श्य हे उप गलपति। भक्त अनुसार से द्वरि । करुपामय जगदाय । विषे ले बील कि पासर। मीप्त बीदलं तच्छ जन। प्राणिकीधरे विप्रतयो । श्रविद्यतिकाष्टाक्सा। चामा बीदल गण रूप। कालि प्रभाते विप्रगण। काषा विचारि पचारित। वैदवेदान्त से कहिव। ग्राचि राजन हर कला। एमले वड चवकाशे। बटमुखरे सु रहिला। सदानिशारे नरहरि। वर कमल देनि स्थाने। विग्रे तृपति न जानन्ति । भक्त सीहर निजः प्रायः। प्रभाते राजा समें यिला। क्रीध करिय नरपति। विवाद मनरे चपति। चानिला एक ग्रद्ध जन। ता ग्रंपि साइसा भीइर। सने विचार कवि सुद्र।

ता ग्रीच इसिल इंसुद्र ॥ ११ काषारि नीष्टिन श्रीपति ॥ १३ विश्वचास्त्रास से चादि करि॥ १३. काडारि नोडित एकत॥१४ गर्वे कर्रान ऋषवर ॥ १५ वेद कड़िव चनुचय ॥ १४ ए कर्ड बैद इ.स. खने॥ १० कह है वैश्वव वहला॥ १८ तुम्भेत कचावड कीप ॥ १८ न्यति थिवडे बावसा । २० मुक रोजाकु सेलानिव ॥ २१ श्रीहरि क्षंपाए हरूव ॥ २२ विजय करित हैं गला॥ २३ इदानुरे अनाइ ले विश्रं॥ २४ सभये घरकुन गलि॥ २५ इसि कइन्ति इंबरि ॥ २६ थिवर सुर चतुखने ॥ २७ भक्तक विवाद करन्ति ॥ २८ कडि चलिले नारायम्॥ २८ विप्रक चीन चलिंगला॥ ३० भक्तक विवाद करन्ति ॥ ३१ जवार मूर्व जड़मति। २२ वीरता कह वेद प्रच ॥ ३३ भन्नान घोदला गरीर ॥ ३४ लघुकी देखि राजा ठाँद ॥ ३४

he had to retire from the stage of the Court and pass his days in disguise and concealment.

Twenty two years after the death of Pratāparudra and at the accession of Mukunda Deva in 1551 A.D. the political firmament of Utkala began to be convulsed with stupendous changes. Mukunda Deva was a zealous supporter of the cause of Buddhism. Under his auspices Balarāma Dāsa re-entered the arena of religion which he had

विषे श्रक्ति योजायोगः भातकनाशन सुरारि। त्रसिंदि विचारद्र सने। भक्तवत्सल दामीदर। एन भरसाकालि मन। बील इ ग्रंग न प्रवर । ग्रद्रमुखक वेदवाणी। सर्खमीन जडा ९ इ.। ताहात जान तृपवर । क पाबी लियातार कार्थे। शिररे कर दिलि सह। विष्य वीर्देशी एं कदिया ता प्रचित्रोध मीर टेडी। ल काबी अपद्रशयाराचाः। नित्यक्यस्य भ्रीए जातः। प्रयाव प्रवट अंत्रक्तिला। बेद सकल सृष्टि छोद्र। ता ग्राणि राजा विप्रगण। बोरले ऋपति बानन्दे। तकी महत यंड खीका। . ए गुट्र न कडुए वाणी। कंड भेद जानरस।

करिले डास परिदास ॥ ३६ डाकि**ति चान नरइरि॥** ३७ हरिजै कहिले खपने॥ ३८ करुणाक दिए ठार॥ ३८ श्रीहरि इंदे कालि ध्यान ॥ ४० नाडिटिदीय है सीहर॥ ४१ तकी ग्रस्थिव जीवे पुरिवाध ४२ चेचमध्ये मागि खाइः॥ ए सीर टीघ है न घर॥ ४४ वीद्रलासारस्वत ज्ञाने ॥४५ इंबिला जड़ांमुख चाहि ॥ ४६ टासी है निख्य का फोद्रग॥ ४७ ड≀किलि कइ जडा भाइ॥ ४८ नियय कडिनि स्टिसर्यो ॥ ४८ श्चक् प्रवाव सकात ॥ ५० भवदु बेद य चोदला ॥ ५१ एमन्ते वेदान्त बुलाइ ॥ ५२ चिकितेन फरी बचन ॥ ५३ ग्रव है दासे सिद्धि साध्ये॥ ५४ कान सकल जानस्खा ५५ तुकी सकल परिमाणी॥ ५६ য়াঝি ता ভীরর' सनीय ॥ ५०

left during the latter part of the reign of Pratāparudra. And this has probably been represented as his second birth. From the following extract we get a faint glimpse into the political condition of Utkala during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra:—

"A very curious anecdote is related of his conduct, which seems to show that the followers of Buddha continued to form a sect of importance in this part of India until the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is said that a serious robbery happened in the Rājā's palace, and that he (Pratāparudra) being anxious to discover the perpetrators, assembled together all the wise men, both of the Buddhist and the Brahminical

गूट्र पायल स्वं जड़ा।
बेदलु निन्दिन इदन।
विप्रल करि नमलार।
नुष्में त सुविज पुरुष।
ग्राणि राजनर वचन।
वीलद्र ग्राण चक्रधर।
गर्ल्याच्चन देलारि।
एवे करूपा कर्मिती।
गर्रिण चपति होन तीय।
विप्रल सन्देश किटिन।
एते जनार सी भानन्द।
तन्च पर सी मनरी।
ग्रीक्षण चर्लान संवाद।
ग्रीसामलदेन संवाद।
क्षण वल्राम दास।

एड़ न कड़ वेदलीका॥ ५८ नगरी विक्रत स्मिव॥ ५८ मासा प्रकारी विचार ॥ ६० कड़ वेदान विचारस ॥ ६१ ग्रीण सनीय इला मन ॥ ६१ मास वदान स्मीदर ॥ ६६ कड़िव विग्रज चरते॥ ६५ वेदान सार्जानरस ॥ ६६ मीते करणा प्रमु हैव ॥ ६० मने चिज्ञल प्रवाद ॥ ६८ मने प्रवेश इला संदेश ॥ ६८ मने प्रवेश इला मेदि ॥ ६८ मने प्रवेश इला मेदि ॥ ६८ मने प्रवेश इला मेदि ॥ ६१ प्रवेश यात्रगीतारस ॥ ७१ प्रवाय ग्रामीतारस ॥ ७१

(प्रवनगैता १म पः)

persuasion, to obtain their assistance in prosecuting an investigation. The Brahmins could tell nothing, but the followers of Buddha, through their knowledge of the occult art, were enabled to point out both the offender and the place where the stolen property was concealed. The Raja was induced by this incident to form so high an opinion of the learning and skill of the Buddhists. that he became for some time a warm supporter of that sect. His Rani, on the other hand, espoused zealously the cause of the Brāhmins. It was at last determined to make another formal trial of their relative skill as men of science and magicians. Accordingly a snake was secretly put into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at the palace. Both parties were then asked what the jar contained. The Brahmins answered,—"It contains only earth;" and sure enough, when opened it was found to contain nothing but earth. This specimen of skill entirely changed the Raja's opinions, but he now became as violent against the Buddhists as he had been before prejudiced in their favour-so much so that he not only withdrew his protection and countenance, but violently expelled the whole sect from his dominions, and destroyed all their books. It is added that about this time Chaitanya Mahāprabhu came from Nadia in Bengal to visit the temple of Jagannātha, and that he performed miracles before the Raja".

^{*} Sterling's Orissa, (Edition of 1904) pp. 80-81.

Though the Buddhists were persecuted during the time of Pratāparudra Deva, yet they succeeded, as we learn from other sources, in securing largely the patronage of Rājā Telaŋga Mukunda Deva. Thus the Tibetan work Pogsom says—"Mukunda Deva (Dharma Rāja), king of Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

Indeed we may, on the authority of Pranava Gītā, make bold to assert that although Balarāma Dāsa generally passed for a Vaisnava, yet he was, while in the court of Pratāparudra Deva, but a staunch champion of the doctrine of Cūnya as inculcated by the Mādhyamika philosophy.

From the contemporary events of the times of Rājā Pratāparudra we glean that jealousies of the Brāhmana-Pandits and persecutions by the king soon turned the court into a bed of thorns for Balarāma Dāsa who, in consequence, retired not only from it, but from society altogether. This swelling tide of persecution soon drove the Bāthuris or Bāuris and other kindred tribes into dense jungles and tractless forests. This point has, however, been already dealt with at some length in connection with our treatment of the Bāthuri tribe; so we content ourselves here with only a passing reference. It will now, we hope, become clear after our repeated quotations from the writings of Balarama Dasa, that the sole burden of his religious and poetical effusions was the doctrine of the Great Void, as promulgated by Nagarjuna and forming the nucleus of

the Mādhyamika philosophy. In his works on Advaita philosophy Cankara tried to refute the doctrine of Cūnya and to establish in its place that of Brahman; while Balarāma Dāsa, though largely borrowing from the Vedānta, went against the Advaitavādins and advocated the cause of the Great Void. Now, we presume, on the strength of these facts we may justly assert that Balarāma Dāsa was really a veiled follower of Buddhism, or a Vaiṣṇava-Buddhist.

In the last chapter of his Gupta Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa discloses the central regulated his whole life—although indeed it is apparent in every fline of his writings, if one would but look for it. Thus he says:—

"Again Arjuna asked Vāsudeva to tell him the particulars about the Gupta Gītā, as there were some who thought that it would again be published in the world, (1). Çrī Hari replied "Hear then O Arjuna-In the twenty-seventh anka of king Mukunda Deva, there will live a man named Cani Patanāyaka (2-3). The servant of the meek and humble will call on him and blessing him will sit by his side (4). Seeing him carry the Gupta Gītā under his armpit, Patanāyaka will address him thus (5). 'What book is there under your armpit and why do you travel about with it? (6). We are anxious to learn the truths that are discussed in it. So be pleased, Ye Dasa, to tell us these wise instructions.' (7). Dāsa said, "It is Gupta-Gītā.-Listen to me, if you are curious." (8). He will just open the book, write Om, touch it with his hand and placing under

it a circle or Cunya-mandala, explain to him its meaning (9-10). as consisting of the three letters ग्र.च and म with इं, म and ज (11). The satchakras (the six mystic circles) are placed in the Om; and inside that are the fourteen worlds. (12). When he will learn thus far of the Gītā, his curiosity and eagerness will much increase; (13). and he will ask "Is there anything beyond this? Be pleased to tell me again-I want to know something more. (14). This Gītā, so highly pleasant and interesting, is a sealed book. So I am anxious to hear it from your lips." (15) Hearing him thus, Dasa will delight his soul by saying, (16). 'It was I myself who wrote this Gītā in the previous birth. But then only the first chapter was done. (17). I shall, however, go on telling you the whole Gītā now. So be all attention.' (18). Upon these words, I thought within myself, highly pleased with his great devotion, "I shall enter his heart and inspire him with the knowledge of the Gītā. (20). Balarama Dasa will give that out in words; and (the book thus composed) will be complete in thirty-five chapters." (21). But including the previous one, Balarām Dāsa dealt exhaustively with it in thirty-six chapters. (22). Hearing him Cani Patnāyaka, with his three sons, worshipped him and became his disciples." (23). (Gupta Gītā, Chap. 36.)1

^{1 &}quot;पुषि भञ्जु"न वासुदेवे पुकर गुपत कल विचार ।
कें छ भावे पुन: गुपतगीता ने संसारे छेव प्रचार ॥ १
श्री इरि बोइले ग्रुण भञ्जु"न । सुकुन्ददेव बलि राजन ॥ २
से हि राजार सताइस भन्ने । विवर्षा ग्राम पटनायके ॥ ४

After this there can be no room for doubt that Balarāma Dāsa had, as his mystic symbol, the words, "Om, Çūnya mandalāya namah" (Om, adoration to the great circular void). Ganeçavibhūti is the name of his another work. In an old commentary on it, entitled Siddhāntadambara, by the author himself, the mystic symbol is given in the words "Om Çūnya Brahmane namah" (Om, adoration to the formless Brahman). Although differently expressed, the two symbols

ताइकि मेटिव दौनक दासे। गपतगीता चध्या चिव काखी। कि प्रसक्त दासी चक्रिकाखरे। भाक्षे ग्रम किना कि कि रहस । गपतगीता चध्याय घटरा प्रवर्ग पुथि फोड़िया कहिये। म् नमक ल्या तातले देद। अकार उकार सकार तिनि । भी उटार मध्य घडचक स्थान। में गीता पध्याक ग्रांच बाज है। एतिकि गौता कि चिधक चिक ए ये गुपत महारसगीता। ताइ। उत्वचन ग्रविय टासी। पूर्व जन्म भामा ए गीता कला। पवे पाक्षे गोताक दिवा रहि। से पुर्वि मोर कामुरे ज्याद। म तार इदयै पश्चिव जार । तेख कड़िय वसराम दास । पूर्व प्रधा घेनि क्विश सरि। यशिष भनि पठनायक।

क⊛ाध करिव वसिव पासे ॥ ४ ताङ पचारिवै पटनाएके ॥ ५ फेडि पृथि दासे काइ शिव घरे॥ इ टासे बीइले जान खपटीशा। ७ श्रीता जेवे चैव ग्रुण ऋचद् ॥ ८ भोङार धापि हात मारि देवे ॥ ८ ताडाक दासी कडिवे भेदार ॥ १० इंकार सकार खकार चिनि ॥ ११ तथि भितरी चौइ सुवन ॥ १२ হ্ৰথা সাজুৰ বভিজা কছ'। १३ फोडि कड किना ग्रिया कि कि ॥ १४ चापन कड इद्रण श्रीता॥ १५ प्रशन करिवेता भासा भासी॥ १६ प्रथम अध्यासिना चीद्रथिखा॥ १७ तकी ग्रव कितना श्रवण देइ ॥ १८ भनेक भक्तिरे प्रसन्न **चीद**ा १८ गौता ताहाङ्क देखिबि कहि ॥ २० पर्खातम चथ्या इट्टव शेष ॥ २१ बलराम दास कडे विस्तारि॥ २२ तिन पत्र घेनि करि सेवक ॥"

(गुप्तगीता ३६ पधाय ।)

refer but to one and the same thing. And it goes without saying that the idea underlying these mystic symbols is also the cardinal doctrine of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

Similarly. Achyutānanda was also a follower of esoteric Buddhism, though openly professing Vaiṣṇavism. Thus, in spite of his profession as a follower of Crī Chaitanya and disciple of Sanātana Gosvāmin, he incurred the severe displeasure and open hostility of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas of the court of Rājā Pratāparudra for his openly upholding the doctrine of the Cūnya before that very monarch. To this he thus refers in his Cūnya Samhitā.—

"Prataparudra Deva urged me strongly, and pressure was also brought to bear upon me in the temple. I was asked 'Hear me, O Dāsa, tell me from what mantra your bhajana-mantra is derived. Of Anāma (the nameless), Nāma (the name), the Kamavijas, and the revolving in mind of the twenty-four-worded Gayatri, tell me which one is your favourite; and furnish me, O Dāsa, with a clear exposition thereof.' ingenious arguments put forward by the Brāhmanas, though fallacious, made the king dubious in mind. He added, 'The Brahmanas are known to be well acquainted with the mantras. They are supposed to possess Brahmajñāna and to know the mantras and the rules laid down in the Castras. These Brāhmanas have urged me strongly to ask you to explain without delay, and clearly and lucidly, the worship of the Cunya.' Then, there, in a clearly visible place. I put down the thirty-

two letters in the following manner. Nama was placed under the Anama, and thus was Kamavija written. The five classes (of consonants) and the twelve mātrās were placed; and also the yantra was drawn and placed there. Having seen this the Brahmanas were thunderstruck, and said 'Yes, Dāsa, you know the real truth and the underlying import of things. The knowledge of truth and reality is very abstruse and mysterious. Therefore do speak to us of tattva clearly and lucidly. You have indeed placed very mysterious words before us, writing Anāma, Nāma and the Kāmavijas and Om in a descending series. This is strange and has never been observed before, and is in reality such as has never been mentioned in the Purā-Where have you learnt this, O Dasa, and who are they that worship according to this? And who is there that worship Nama? Conversant with all these tattvas, as you seem to be, be pleased to explain this to us.' Thus the Brahmanas did urge me very strongly. The king also again said to me 'Hear me, O Dāsa, You have drawn the yantra. Now be pleased to tell us the mantra, and the manner in which you perform your worship with that mantra. Furnish me (in short) with a clear exposition of all these.' Hearing again this peremptory request of the king, I felt rather distressed in mind and said 'Hear then O King, my mantra is nirākāra and I worship the Cūnya. Asanaçuddhi (purification of the seat) and Anganyāsa (the touching of certain parts of the body as enjoined by the Castras) are not needed, nor have Sthanabhanga and Dikbandhana to be observed. One has to sit in Cunya and worship.

to destroy death and go to Golaka (the place of eternal bliss). The subject of this worship is only Nāma. Because, where is there anything beyond it? Then 'What does this Dasa say?' saying this the Brahmanas sprang up and prepared to go away. They said further 'Let the king have a test of how the worship of the Cunya is to be performed. Even here this Dasa must submit to this examination.' Again one of the Brāhmanas smiled and said 'Let him be dropped down into the waters of a well and let's see how he draws his yantra there and worships his Cūnya.' Thus confusion and disorder reigned there. The king forgot all about the mantra and was carried away by the desire for examining me. When thus confusion and disorder prevailed, the God of the ocean of mercy took compassion on me. The Brahmanas set up a loud uproar and none cared to examine my mantra. Knowing that if what the Lord has made a secret of, were to be revealed by the king, there would be no end of the terrible difficulties and dangers that would beset him, my mind was rather set at rest by this confusion. But the Great Lord who is the healer of all troubled hearts again spread a confusion (amonst the Brahmanas). At this time when there was a loud clamour, the king took me by the hand and went away to the widest street. Even here the crowd mustered so strong that there was a loud uproar arising from the people elbowing one another.

"The king said Now commence your worship just here near the empty well at Bānkimuhānā. Let these Brāhmaṇas see you submit to an

examination of your secret worship before us.' Upon this I was greatly afraid in mind. I then drew my mind away from the numberless people around me, placed the thirty-two letters upon my heart and sitting straight up from the navel became absorbed in meditation. Then with upturned face, I annihilated the mind and concentrated myself upon the idea of the Nirākāra. Having thus lifted life up, I was soon sitting in the void and lost in the idea of Paramahamsa. The king was startled to see this and the Brāhmanas were thunderstruck. They were pondering in silence-who it is that has thus revealed the unrevealed !- Having seen all this the king became convinced, and mildly and sweetly said "Come, come, Dāsa." He then embraced me and I was pleased to hear these reassuring words, 'Hear me, Achyuta Dāsa. Go and live near Bānkimuhānā. It is because the name of Achyuta or Inseparable was not disgraced that the worship of Nirākāra Çünya was made possible. Certainly it is a deep mystery and the manner in which you have explained it has much pleased me.' The king then went away from there, and the Brahmanas thus greatly mortified and humiliated could say nothing. Thus we five came out of the great and difficult ordeal we were made to undergo and we got a good and secluded place where we plunged into the meditation of Cunya."

देवते वहत भाकट हैला ॥ भजतमन्त्रकेट मन्त्र ठार ॥

^{*} The five are Achyuta Dăsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Yacovanta Dāsa and Ananta Dāsa.

^{1 &}quot;प्रतापस्ट देव कटासिसा। बोदले दासे ग्राम मोड ठाइ।

The doctrines of the Cūnyavāda as discussed above are akin to those which obtain amongst the Buddhists of Nepal even now. The nature and meaning of the "Great Void" will be understood from the explanation given by Mr. Hodgson on the authority of the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal:—

"Mahā-Cūnyatā is, according to some, Svabhāva and according to others Içvara. It is

चनास नाम कामबीजसान । केल' मन्त्र गीठि द्रष्ट तथार। बाद्यये प्रति चलाद कदिले। धीके बाद्यये सन्तरे प्रशिद्धः। बहत कटाल करी मो दारे। साचाते पारी मोते कडि देवे। चे ठाव हमा हेले मते **रे**तु। चनामतले नामक देइचा। पश्चर्भ वार मावा दंइण। देखि बाह्य के हेले बाह्य स्वत। बेल बेल दास बदद तस्त । गइण कथा स्थापिलात तन्त्री। चनास नास कासबीजसान । एत चसकाव चलाव्य बाद्या। कार्र्शिखिल दासे इडा पणि। केड' भजन घटे नामर ॥ वहुत कटाख ब्राह्म थे कर्जा राजन बीदले ग्रंच हे दासे। कि ६पे ए मन्द्र भजन कर। पुश्चिम्प्रिका राजाकटाल कला। वीइ विः तुमा युष हिराजनः।

गाइबी चिव्वशाखर भजन॥ काइदिखिदासे तत्त्व विचार॥ राजन मनक चर्चल कर्ले॥ कानन्ति ब्रह्मज्ञान-सन्त-विधि॥ चचातदासे कड है सलरे॥ ग्रन्थभजन कडत वोदली॥ दाविंशाचर स्थापिलि सुतेय॥ कामबीज पोसिति कि लेखिए ॥ यन्तरे लेखि करितं स्थापन॥ बोदले टास जायं तस्त्र पर्ध॥ तस्त्रवोध दास चित गपत ॥ कड टासे टेखि ग्रशिमा चाको ॥ चौं बार स्थापि तक्षि तन प्रण॥ पुराण ग्रन्थं श्रषिवाहु यदा॥ एडाक कोंचं भजनरे प्रणि॥ तत्त्व वीधा दासे कड निकर॥ राजन कामुरे पुचि कडिली॥ यन्त्रस्थापिखमनाक इस्तीये॥ क इटासे टेब्बिए विचार ॥ याचा सो सने सङ्ग्रट पक्तिसा ॥ मन्द्रतिराकार ग्रन्थभजनः॥

like the ethereal expanse, and self-sustained. In that Mahā-Çūnyatā, the letter A, with the Vīja Mantra of Upāya and the chief of all the Vīja Mantras of the letters, became manifest."

(Rakṣābhagavatī.)

"He whose image is Cunayta, who is like a cypher or point, infinite, unsustained (in Nivrtti),

भासनगृद्धि बङ्गन्यास नाहि'। गून्यरे वसि भजन करिव। ण भजन नाम भटद एकि। ब्राह्मचे ग्राचि चालच चित्रले। बोदली ये दासे ग्रन्थमजन। श्रन्यभजन कि दपे करिवे। एक ब्राह्मण बोदलेक इसि । टेखिवा दासङ ग्रन्थभजन। एमने कड़ने धन्टील ईला। गीलं धन्टोल एमले सागिला। गीखरी ब्राह्मणी मानि रक्षिले। मे ढाइ मन चोदला उस्त। राजन येवे प्रक्छित्र करला। सङ्गाप्रभ से चारतभञ्जय। एमलं पहरे गोल लागिला। यडदाखरेत छोडला नीख। बाद्धमुद्राणि श्रूच-वान्ति ठारे। टेखना यंतेक ए डिजवर। ग्रुणि मी मनरे लागिला भय। दाविंग चचर हरे स्थापिति। कर्जभुख करि कलिमुलय। प्राच अर्थ करि गुनो रहिति। देखिय राजन हेले चिततः।

स्थानभङ्ग दिक्दश्वन नाहि'॥ कालकुनाधि गीलकरेठाव॥ एषं पिक भाउ पुन काहि ॥ ष्टासी कि कडिल विल बीदले॥ राजन एडा करन्तुप्रचित्र॥ टासे परीचा एडि ठारे दंवे॥ कुप कि वास्फि याद्रण निरसि॥ किदपे यनक करने स्थापन । मन्द्र का कि राजा परीचे भी ला॥ क्रपा-जल-निधिक रुणाधिया॥ मन्त्र प्रच्छित्र केडियी करिलं॥ जानि विप्रभुक चित्र ग्रुपत ॥ विपद् चापद माडि पडला॥ माबि धन्दील खगाइले पुन ॥ राजन मीते धरि घेषि गला॥ देखादेखि खोके चित गइस ॥ भजन कर दासे एडि ठारे॥ प्रचळके परीचा चान्ध कासर ॥ **भगत मुरति कश्चिम् स्य** ॥ नानि परे वसि ध्यान सुंक्रिति ॥ निराकार देप कलिम ध्याय ॥ परमध्ये चित्त बुढ़ाश्रस्ति ॥ बाह्यचे देखि की स्वा स्वगित है

and sustained (in Pravrtti) whose essence is (Nivrtti), of whom all things are forms (in Pravrtti), who is the Icvara, the first intellectual essence, the Adi Buddha, was revealed by his own will. This self-existent is he whom all know as the true Being; and, though the state of Nivrtti be his proper and enduring state, yet for the sake of Pravritti (creation), having become Pancha-jñānātmikā, he produced the five Buddhas thus :- from Suviçuddha-dharmadhātuiajñāna, Vairochana, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of Akasa, the organ of sight and colours; and from Adarcana-jñāna, Aksobhya, from whom proceed the element of air, the organ of hearing and all sound; and from Pratyaveksana-jñāna, Ratna-sambhava, from whom proceed the element of fire, the organ of smell, and all odours; and from Çāntajñāna, Amitābha, from whom proceed the element of water, the organ of taste and all savours; and from Krtyanustha-jñāna, Amoghasiddha, from whom proceed the element of earth, the organ of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon.

योक भावस्थित रहिले।
राजन देखिल परते गले।
कोले करिल करे भाविकनः।
यण भाग गणी भगुतदास्य।
भगुत नाम भात नहे येल।
भतिह गुपत भगुतदास ॥
से उाद राजन भविन गले।
पनन प्रकार प्रजानकुः।
प्रकार प्रजान प्राह्माः।

यपत प्रचट के भवा कर्त ॥
दास भास विल भाटु कहिले ॥
कहि ती पिले भाटास व चन ॥
वाङ्गिमुहाण कर ये निवास ॥
निराधार ग्रन्थजन तेण ॥
तल्लवीध दास भति हरष ॥
खाले वाह्यणे किहि न कहिले ॥
कटाल कथा ये भाष्यमानक ॥
निरालम्ब ध्याने विस्त हला ॥
हला स्थाने विस्त हला ॥

All these five Buddhas are Pravitti-karmānas, or the authors of creation. And these five Buddhas each produced a Bodhisattva. The five Bodhisattvas are *Sristi-karmānas* or the immediate agents of creation; and each, in his turn having become *Sarvaguna*, produced all things by his fiat."

"Cūnyatā, or the total abstraction of phænomenal properties, is the result of the total suspension of nature's activity. It is the Ubi, and the modus, of the universal material principal in its proper and enduring state of nivriti or of rest. It is not nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of Cūnyatā is Avidyā, which is the mundane affection of the universal principle, or the universal principle in a state of activity;... in other words, it represents phænomenal entities or the sum of phænomena, which are regarded as wholly unreal, and hence their existence is ascribed to ignorance or Avidyā."

This interpretation holds good equally in the cases of the crypto-Buddhists of Utkal outwardly professing the Vaisnava creed, and of the Buddhist Newars. The theory of the void is identical with that of an all-pervading Brahman as will be seen from the above quotation. Needless to say that this theory belongs to the Mahāyāna school.

^{*} Hodgson's Nepal, p. 74, 75, 77, 105.

FIVE VISNUS OR FIVE DHYANI BUDDHAS

In his Viṣṇu-garbha Chaitanya Dāsa was the first to raise the question—" People in general know only of one Viṣṇu. How then are we to account for the belief in five more?" And then he attempts at a solution of the question, as will be found from the following long extracts:—

"He is an invisible, imperceptible being, devoid of all forms and colours. He has no dwelling place and is in reality the Mahā-Çūnya. 199. Destitute of all forms and colours, his body is all formless, and mixed up with Çūnya he is as good as Çūnya. 200. It was beyond the power of any one to describe his form and colour when he assumed these. Even the Veda-Brahma failed to sing his glories. 201. He was formless and colourless, and even amongst the millions of gods there was none comparable with him. One might search throughout the fourteen universes yet one would not find his equal. 202 Nowhere is his equal to be found—

क 'चर्चाल प्रवृद्ध म नाहि क्यवर्ष ।

प्रथान न दि ताव चरि महास्त्रा ॥ १८९
का वण म होई से चक्य नाव देहि ।

यानाव सई ते से सान्य होई साई ॥ २००
पो चर्चा के कंदन क्या था।
यह अप्यान न प्रवृत्ति देहन्सा ॥ २०१
वह अप्यान न प्रवृत्ति होता स्वयना ।
वह वहा एक खानिन नावि प्रतिसीमा ॥ २०१

so great is the greatness and glory of Alekha. 203. One and the same with Cunya, he is himself all Cunya and Cunya is his form. And identified with Cunya, he is pervading all space, 204. Cunva itself is his dwelling place,' 205. Having heard this from the lips of Caunaka and others, Sanaka had not yet his doubts settled and asked again, 206. "You have spoken, O great and mighty muni (sage), of the omniscient origin of all. But the character you have described before me seems to be enveloped in mystery. 207. You say that Alekha is devoid of all forms and colours, that he has no beginning and no end, and that he is in reality Mahāçūnya. 208. How then were the six Visnus born? Be pleased, O high-minded sage, to explain this to me. 209. Branches, flowers and

प्रत तुत्व लच्च सं न सासिलं कोहि।

एमन महिमा ने स्वेखर दहि॥ २०३

ग्रूच सङ्गत से ग्रूच ग्रूच ग्रूच विषे ।

ग्रूच सङ्गत मिश्र पिक सकल व्यानव्यापो॥ २०४

ग्रूच हिंदि ताहार स्वटह निज घर।

ग्रूचर वाहस ग्रूचे ग्रूचिंग करह विहार॥ २०५

सानकादिकर मुखे ग्रूचिंग ए सनक।

पुषि संग्र्य चिते पुका कलेक सनक॥ २०६

बादलं महामृनि तुम्मे सन्तंत्र भादिमुलं

केमन चरित्र पामर सागे बखानिला॥ २००
वीहल स्वेखर नाहि क्ववधी।

श्रूच सन्त नाहि तार स्वट महाग्रूच॥ २०६

यह विश्व सीहरू होइन उत्पति।

इर्ष मीते बुनाइ कहिन महामति॥ २१६

fruits are possible only when the tree has its roots; and it rains only after the clouds have been formed. 210. How then can the tree grow without the seed? This is utterly beyond my comprehension. 211. Even after seeds have been sown, trees do not grow without the help of water; and without friction, no fire can be kindled. 212. Hence your assertion that Alekha has no form has raised doubts in my mind. Be pleased somehow to disperse these. 213. (Though Alekha has no form yet) you say that from his body sprang into existence the six Visnus. Of the glories of one I have just now heard. 214. If I can now hear of the respective duties and functions of the remaining five, the doubts of my mind may be set at rest." 215. Upon these words of Sanaka, the sages headed by Caunaka replied, "The inexplicable glories and

वचरे मूल थिलीसना उत्तरी फले फल।
मैच चारिकालीसना वरसह जाल ॥ २१०
वीज विना वच ये केमल हैव जात।
चनुभव वृद्धिर नो हुचाइ चादि चल ॥ २११
वीज वृश्य जाल विना चतुर न हीद।
विना चरवले कंहि चनल उण्जद ॥ २११
ए मोहर संग्य कचा फीड़ मीते कहा।
तुक्षे ये वोदल चलेखर नाहि देह ॥ २१३
दंहर जन्य घड़ विण् जनमिलं।
एक विच्हर महिमा ग्रविलुं कर्णमूली॥ ११४
चाहिर पछ विण् कली कि कि कर्म।
तुक्ष योमुखर ग्रवि हाड़ू मन समा। २१४

greatnesses of Alekha cannot be (even partially) understood with any extraneous aid. 216. Hear us. O Sanaka; the question that you have raised touches the origin and the end of the maya of Alekha-which no one can ever know. 217. No one can fully explain his origin and end. speaker, no words, can express his plays of pleasure, 218. At his own sweet will and pleasure he makes his greatness manifest, and though formless, reveals himself. 219. If he likes, he can assume many forms; and, if it pleases his mind, he can create many forms. 220. He plays at pleasure, lives at pleasure and assumes many forms at pleasure. 221. His first and own (real) form is Nirākāra. And from his body the form of Dharma is developed, 222. Then living in

सनकवन ये कहित प्रोनकादि।
प्रकेखर महिना ए भगम्य मितिनिध ॥ २१६
बोडल सनक तुथे पचारिल याहा।
भाय भने कि तुने भनेखर नाया॥ २१०
विनार करि कहिवाकु तु है भादि भने।
प्रच्हा तुले खेलर ये नाहि ता माक्य व्यकत ॥ २१०
प्रच्हा तुले खेलर ये नाहि ता माक्य व्यकत ॥ २१०
प्रच्हा तुले ताहार महिना विकासह ।
भहप होद करिले खंडप प्रकागद ॥ १९८
प्रच्हा होति से भनेक हप घरे।
प्रच्हा तुले सन तार प्रनेक हप करे।
प्रच्हा तुले खेलर से दच्छा तुले रहे।
प्रच्हा हेले भनेक से हपमान होये॥ २२१
प्रम्मे निराकार खंडपक होद।
प्रच्मे निराकार खंडपक होद।

imagination only he begins to create; and then again he diverts himself by assuming the form of the good of the world. 223. Hear, Sanaka, of the glories of Alekha. We shall describe to you the attributes and qualities that qualify him. 224. His body, itself devoid of all colours, developed the six colours of white, yellow, red, orange, and of the waterfall and cloud. And out of these six colours were the six Viṣṇus born. 225 226. One of these Viṣṇus was located by Alekha in the eastern Cūnya, one in the western, one in the southern and one in the northern. 227-228. These four Cūnyas are called four Nirākāras; and in reality these Viṣṇus are located just as described here.

Having reached the upper Çūnya he became unconscious in the sleep of Yoga and there did spring

कलाना पुरुष होइ पुणि सिष्ट कर जात।

शिव स्वरूप होइ पुण खेलाइ नगत ॥ २२६

ग्रेण ह सनक तृश्वि चलेख महिमा।
तुश्व चाने युके कहिवाला ग्रेणसीमा ॥ २२४

पवर्ष पुत्र तार वर्ण प्रकाशिला।

देत पीत कीहित कुद्रम चारिकला ॥ २२५

जलध्रु निमारक एमने बद्र वर्ण।

एषड वर्ण इ विच्च हेला जना ॥ २२६

पूर्व ग्रेनेंग्र एक विच्च हेला जना ॥ २२६

पूर्व ग्रेनेंग्र एक विच्च हेला विच्च ।

दिल्च ग्रेनेंग्र एक विच्च विच्च एक।

स्वर ग्रेनेंग्र एक विच्च रखिले चिच्च ॥ २२०

दिल्च ग्रेनेंग्र एक विच्च रखिले चिच्च ॥ २२०

from him the Brahmās. 229-230. Having been thus born, these gods created the universe consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 231.

"Each of these universes was an independent entity and for each of these, one Brahmā with his colleagues was created. 233. Having been born, each set of these gods again created a universe, consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 234. And thus the Brahmās with their subordinates created three Brahmāndas.

"These are known to none but Alekha. 236. The Alekha Purusa is present everywhere, yet

चारि श्व चारि बोखाइ निराकार ।
तस्त याइ। चनुक्षे कलित विद्यार ॥ २२८
छ्यर यूने प्रष्टिल ये योगनिता गले ।
ताहाकर तहु तम्मामाने जात हेले ॥ २३०
जात की इ तम्मामे रचिल तम्माप्त ।
एकदम पुर चलेख पृथी नवख्य ॥ २३१
देवनाग नर जे चारिखानि लेखा ।
तम्माख्यालन चादि यमन थेडि भाखी ॥ २३२
एक तम्माख्यालन चादि यमन थेडि भाखी ॥ २३२
एक तम्माख्यानि ने चिले तम्माख्य ।
एकदम पुर चन्नामाने रचिले तम्माख्य ।
एकदम पुर चन्नामाने रचिले तम्माख्य ।
एकदम पुर चन्नास्त पृथी नवस्त ।
एकदम पुर चन्नास प्री प्रस्त तेले ।
एकदम पुर चन्नास प्री प्रस्त तेले ।
प्रम तम्माख्य मानकर एक प्रक त्रिले ।
से तिन तम्नाख्य मानकर एक प्रक त्रिले ।

none knows where and what he is, and where and what he is not. 237. Once upon a time one of the Brahmās boasted, "It was I who created the whole universe." 238.

Another thought within himself, "It was I who created the world with all the movable and immovable things in it." 242. Again another boasted "It was I and none else that was the creator." And thus the four Brahmās created the four Viṣnus who are placed in the four worlds of Deva, man and serpent. 245. Upon this Sanaka looked upon the faces of Caunaka and his companious and said "O my lord, what an impossible thing it is that you have just said to me. 245. I have

काइर गोचर एमान मनभेद नाई।
सवद्वरि गोचर एक चलिख जानद ॥ २१६
चलिख पुरुष ये भव ठार ठालि।
ताइर भेदाभेद ये केडि न जानिल ॥ २१०
एक ज्ञ्ञा बोदला मु स्टि किल जात।
मोइर रचनासिना घटद जगत ॥ २६८
*

एकत्वा किलि मने गिषा।
चरावर करि मु ये रचिलि घरणी ॥ २६३
मु स्टि किला मी तुड अन्य तुद्धि जने ॥ २८३
एडि क्षे चारि मझा चारि विक्र कृति।
देव नर नाम चारिखान सियादले ॥ २४३
सनक बादल सीन कहिला गोसाइ ॥ २४४

heard of the glories of four Cunyas from your lips. And at the time of creation, you say, four Brahmās were born in the four Cunyas. 246. But the world knows of only one Brahmā and one Visnu; and this has again been confirmed by the four Vedas. 247. How then do you say that there are four Brahmās who are the four Nirākāras and who, from the four directions of the Cunya, created the universe? 248. This sounds impossible—so much so that even though I have heard the story with my own ears, yet in my mind I am not yet convinced. 249. I do therefore request you to be so good again as to explain this clearly to me.' Hearing him, Caunaka and his companions said 250. "Hear, Sanaka, of the illusive tricks of Alekha-of the innumerable colours and forms that he has assumed. 251. The glories of that Alekha are always

चारिय्गर महिमा यश्चिल तुमा मुखे।
चारिय्ग चारित ज्ञा जिमिल स्विक क्या १८६
एक त्रशा एक विष्णु जानित ज्ञाते।
पुषि सेखा हरता से चारि वेदपये॥ २४०
त्रिमा कि गाय गोरला चारि तथा चारि निराकार।
चारिदिक य्यरं से रचिले संसार्था १४८
एक व चस्मद लागिला की मते।
कपर प्रिम मने न जाद परते॥ १४८
एक वर्षन स्वि बल्ति योनकादि॥ २५०
यस्त सम्बद्ध स्वित्र माया।
काहि केतं हम सव्यक्ति काया॥ २५१

manifest-know that they have no beginning, no middle, no end. 252. We shall try to tell you as clearly as we can, of the origin and the end of him from whom have the countless Brahmandas sprung. But none can know fully the majesty and greatness of him who is infinite and indefinable and who is above all similarities and differences. 253-254. The greatness of Alekha as described by the Vedas may be compared to the fish in the ocean. And just as when a stone is thrown down, the ocean only knows how it goes but the fish knows nothing of it, so Brahma and the other gods know but little of the glory and greatness of Alekha. Brahmā speaks only of what he himself has created. 255-257. Again, Visnu cannot say whence he sprang; and the Vedas do speak only

से चलेखर सकल महिमा सन्धान ।
चांच मध्य चन तार नाहि वीलि जान ॥ २५२ चनन कीटि त्रकांच्य याहार गर्भजात ।
की सन्धि करि कहिब ताहारि चाहि चना ॥ १५२ चित्र प्रेष गाहि चाहार महिमाक नाहि काहार भेदाभेद ॥ १५४ वैदर महिमा से जलर के की भीना ।
जीते दूर चाए जल पत्तुर मान तन ॥ १५५ वित दूर वारता जानह जलवर ।
चाल ताहालु तीनिक दिशह चन्धकार ॥ २५६ चिह हमे त्रकामाने एकचा जानिक ।
वहा याहा स्ति चाहि से बारता वर्णाना ॥ २५६

of one Brahmā and one Visnu. 258. . . . 259; while they speak only an iota of the greatness of Alekha, because they cannot ascertain and measure his glory. 260. * * * There are many scriptures and many other works on the subject but in none of these is to be found any definition of Alekha. 265. But in the Visnugarbha Purana there is an exhaustive account of his glories and greatnesses, though these have no beginning and no end and are really indefinable. 266. The four Cunya Nirākāras, assumed forms and from their bodies produced the Brahmas. 267.* Again Sanaka turned his eyes towards Caunaka and the rest and said "Would you again be pleased to tell me the doings of Visnu? If

पुन विश्व न वर्षि कां है र जना ही है।

एक त्रज्ञा एक विश्व सिहमा वेद कहि ॥ २५ व्याप्त कहे वेद भवतार विश्वनाम कर गुण ।

स्टिट ग्रमाग्रम जैतेक पाठिन ॥ २५ ट
भवस्वर महिमा पुन कि कि कि कहिन ॥ २६०:

भनेक शांस्त ये भनेक यस्तान।
ए ये नाहि चलेखर निर्णय वन्ता। रहेप् विद्यागर्भपुराणे चिहि चलेखमहिमा। भन्त करि नाहि तार चाहि चन सोमा॥ रहेर् भाकार भून चारि निराकार इसा। ताहार चल्क पुन ब्रह्मामान जात कला। १९७ I hear it from your lips, my doubts will disappear. 271-272. Be pleased to tell me clearly the natures of the various attributes and qualities that were manifested by him when he laid himself down on water." 273. Caunaka and others replied, "Hear, O Sanaka, we shall give an account of the greatnesses and glories of the Visnus. The sea of milk is in the east, in the west is the sea of water; and in the south-sea there are other varieties of water 275. Dwelling on the shores of each of the seas, they received, each of them, seven names, 276. They were then divided and separated from one another, each as a whole in itself. Again, however, did they receive the appelation of Sapta Sindhu (seven seas). 277. Then having laid themselves down on the seas, the four Nirākāras became unconscious in the sleep of

सनक कहित शीनक मुख चाहि ॥ २०१
प्रावार विनि विश्वचिरत माते कह।
तब मुख ग्रियाली फिटिब सन्द ह ॥ २०२
कि कि मान सम्पद से केल जलगायी।
ताहार चरित्र मान कहिव हुआह ॥ २०३
शीनकादि बोदली तुन्धे श्र्या स्टे सनक।
से विश्वमानकर महिमा परिघाप ॥ २२३
पूर्वं मुखे चौर सिन्धु पृथमि जलद।
दक्षिण समुद्रते प्रति प्रमुनेद ॥ २०५
एक एक सिन्ध् जूले कले परिचाम।
तेष्ठ करि हल साता ह त सात नाम ॥ २०६
एक एक प्रदाण करि रखिले भाग करि।
पुन नाम रखिले सप्त सिन्ध बोला। २००

Yoga. 278. Meditating upon the Ātman, they became absorbed in the dhyāna of Alekha, whose form was before their vision. 279. To perform different functions innumerable Visnus were born from the hairs on their bodies. 280. In the upper Çūnya was Viṣṇu placed and given the name of Vaikuṇṭhanātha. 281. One Nirākāra was taken to and located in the Chandra Çūnya; his glories are utterly unknowable. 282. He dwells permanently in the sea of nectar and of him all the Viṣṇus are but emanations." 283.

But, we hope, a little close observation will convince any one that the five extra Vişnus referred to here are but indentical with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas spoken of in the Buddhistic Scriptures of Nepal. In this manuscript we are told that in the beginning there was only the Great Void (Mahāçūnya), the five elements being

समुद्रमान कर पासनमान करि ।
सारि निराकार तर्ह योग निद्रा गर्छ ॥ २७ =
पात्माध्यान करि सिह पर्वेख ध्याने रहि ।
नयन पर्ये ६५ पकाण कराइ ॥ २० ८
ताहाहर रोमर पनिक विष्णुजात ।
कार्य्य पनुरूपे से होणनि पात्म नात ॥ २० ०
छपर भूने एक विष्णुङ पाविला ।
वैकुद्धनाय वीलि तार नाम देला ॥ २० १
सन्द भूने विद्र णुदला एक निराकार ।
ताहार महिमा मान प्रति प्रगीवर ॥ २० २
परत सागरि ताहार नित्य वास ।
ताहाह तंह विष्णुमाने होयनि प्रकाण ॥ । । १० २

non-existent; there existed only the formless, attributeless, self-existent Visnu as the primordial cause. He brought the universe into existence, and in course of time a desire to do good to this universe possessed his heart. Though really formless, he did now assume a form and was denominated Dharma. At the instant of his conceiving the desire of creation, five forms i.e. beings were produced who were also called Visnus. They were white, blue, yellow, red and green. Thus including Mahavisnu (the primordial cause) there were now six Visnus in all. The subordinate five were placed in charge of the different celestial regions-thus, one in the east, one in the west, one in the north and one in the south, and the remaining one in the upper celestial region, where he became deeply absorbed in Dhyana. And from his body each of the Visnus, again, produced, in his turn, a Brahmā, and to each of these Brahmās was delegated the power and function of creating the universe. After the subordinate five Visnus had created the Brahmās, they lost themselves in the meditation of the Mahacunva. The Visnu who was placed in charge of the upper celestial region was known as the Lord of Vaikuntha.

The description, of creation, as given above by Chaitanya Dāsa, is essentially different from what is found in the Brāhmanic scriptures. The cosmogony discussed in the above text is exactly what has been propounded by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in their religious works. Let us now try to discuss and explain the subject more fully.

In reply to the question 'How and when was the world created?' the Mahāyānists affirm that in the beginning there was nothing but Svayambhū who is self-existent. Him they call Ādi Buddha. In the beginning he created, "for the duration of the present systems of worlds," the Pañcha Dhyāni-Buddhas. This theory of creation is exactly what is to be found in Chaitanya Dāsa's work, 'Viṣnugarbha.' The worship of Ādi Buddha and of the five Dhyāni Buddhas is still prevalent in Nepal. The following extract from Dr. Oldfield's Sketches from Nipal will throw more light on the subject:—

"The Theistic system of Buddhism teaches that one universal, all powerful, and immaterial spirit has existed from before the commencement of time, and that it will pervade the universe throughout all eternity. This Spirit is God. He is possessed of supreme power, and is endowed with supreme intelligence, and is, therefore, called Adi Buddha.

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"The majority of the Theistic Schools believe that while Adi Buddha represents supreme intelligence, or mind, there is associated with and forming part of Him, yet at the same time totally distinct form Him, another Being, divine and eternal, who represents Matter, and who is the sum of all the active powers of the material universe. This Being or Spirit they call Adi Dharma or Adi Prajñā.

"These two divine Principles or Spirits, by their union and joint operation form the One Supreme Being, who not only originated the universe, and has since preserved it, but who, by an act of His will, called into being the celestial deities or Buddhas, as well as the lesser Hindu deities, all of whom are looked upon as emanations, more or less directly derived, from this Supreme Intelligence or Ādi Buddha. He is called sometimes Svayambhū or the Self-Existent."

"Ādi Buddha is believed ever to be, and ever to have been, in a state of perfect repose. The only active part which he is represented ever to have taken with reference to the universe was the bringing into being, by five separate acts of creation, the five Divine Buddhas, as emanation from Himself. These Buddhas are called "Divine," because they spring direct from Ādi Buddha, and they were brought by him into existence merely as instruments through whose agency he might effect the creation of the universe.

"The five Divine Buddhas are ranked in the order in which they were created, 1st, Vairochana; 2nd, Aksobhya; 3rd, Ratnasambhava; 4th, Amitābha; 5th, Amoghasiddha. They are looked upon as brothers, and in that sense as all holding exactly the same rank; but Vairochana, as eldest brother, theoretically holds the highest position among them; while Amitābha,

the fourth brother,—as father to the Bodhisattva Padmapāni, who is lord of the existing universe,—theoretically receives the greatest amount of worship.

"Each of these Buddhas was empowered by Adi Buddha to produce a subordinate being or Bodhisattva who stood in relation to the Divine Buddha of son to father, and to whom each Buddha delegated all his divine attributes and powers, and having done so, relapsed, or was reabsorbed into the Great First Cause from which he had originally emaneted. They have ever since remained in an eternally quiescent state, and are not believed to take the slightest concern in any mundane affairs."

"The Divine Bodhisattvas having been brought into being, by the association of the (Divine) Buddhas with their Caktis, expressly for the creation and government of the universe, they are looked upon as types of the active and creative powers of Nature."

Reading together and comparing the account given in Viṣṇugarbha, and the Newar Buddhistic version, of creation, we find that the infinite, formless and omniscient Viṣṇu of Chaitanya Dāsa was no other than the Svayambhū or the Ādi Buddha of the Mahāyānist, and the subordinate Viṣṇus or celestial beings, created by Parama Viṣṇu, are but the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Further, the Brahmās produced from their bodies by these

^{*} Oldfield, Vol. II. pp. 111-112. † Do. do. p. 115.

lower Visnus, were in reality and essence but the divine Bodhisattvas. We give below what may be called a geneological table of the Dhyāni-Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas as found in the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal.



From the above list it will be clear and evident to all that the subject-matter of Chaitanya Dāsa's work was borrowed from the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The Divine Bodhisattvas were believed by the Mahāyāna School to have been the active authors of creation. "One by one, in succession, they were appointed as creators and governors of the then existing systems of world;" three of them have since passed away and the present world is the work of the fourth Bodhisattva Padmapāni.

The Hindus regard Buddha as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu—an opinion which is also endorsed by the Buddhists of India. In the 10th century A.D. Kṣemendra, a renowned Kashmirian poet and author of the celebrated work 'Avadānakalpalatā' discussed at length the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the day and went so far

as to declare Buddha as an Avatāra of Visnu. No wonder therefore that the Vaisnavas of Utkala, who are Buddhists in heart though not so in profession, regard Buddha as Visnu himself and the Bodhisattvas as Brahmas. In the extract from Visnugarbha quoted above we find that the author ascribed to the five subordinate Visnus the following five colours-white, yellow, red, blue and green.

We learn from the literature of the Nepal Buddhists that each of the Dhyani-Buddhas also had a separate colour assigned to him. We give below a list of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas with their respective colours :-

1.	Vairochana	 	White
2.	Akşobhya	 	Blue
3.	Ratnasambhava	 	Yellow
4.	Amitābha	 	Red
5.	Amoghasiddha	 	Green

And like the author of Visnugarbha who locates these Visnus in different regions of the universe, Buddhist writers also assign to the Dhyāni-Buddhas different Bhavanas or particular mansions of the universe.

Svayambhū Purāna, named after Svayambhū or Adi Buddha is an important Buddhistic Scripture of Nepal. We find in it a passage which runs thus-Vairochana was placed in the upper celestial region of the universe, Aksobhya in the east, Ratna Sambhava in the south, Amitabha in the west and Amoghasiddha in the north.' In several of the Chaityas of Nepal also, the Dhyāni-Buddhas are assigned the same positions as described here.

DHARMA.

Dharma performs an important part of Buddhism, being the second of the Buddhist Trinity. The religious workers, Rāmāī Pandita, Lāusena, and others, who flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla II in the 11th Century A.D., found that this Dharma had lost much in the estimation of the public, and devoted their lives to reestablishing his glory and lost supremacy; and with this object in view they composed the Cūnya Purāna and the several Dharma-mangalas. In the course of our survey in Mayurabhanja, we came across several Oriya Manuscripts dealing with the subject of Dharma. From these Manuscripts we can form some idea of the influence which this cult once exercised upon the minds of the people.

The following account of the origin of Dharma and of the creation of the universe by him is given in the Dharma-Gītā of Mahādevadāsa:—

"Whose graceful and majestic person is Çūnya

[&]quot;खडें, * वैरोचनशावि पृष्वे प्रचीयमिष्यपि । द्विणे रत्नस्थावं प्रमिताम प्रिमेऽवि ॥ उत्तरिमोधिखिङ्क इति प्रवत्यागतम्।"

⁽A. Society's Edition, pp. 370-371.

^{* &#}x27;मध्यें" इति पाठासरम्।

and who is without any appetite or desire; who has no form and who is absolutely indescribable and indefinable. 20.**

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†"In that receptacle of world is the seat of that Lord; and it is this which is the pure and absolute paradise sought by all. And that world is the void of voids—the great void, created out of millions of worlds. 26-27. There is here no sun, no moon, none of the eight tutelary deities of the directions and neither birth nor death, neither warmth nor cold. And in this state did crores of ages elapse. Hear me, I shall tell you how Dharma was born thereafter. 28-29. After Mahāprabhu had destroyed the sins, the glorious face of Dharma emanated from him. 30. After innumerable Kalpas had thus elapsed, did the Lord yawn heavily, and out of that yawn

[&]quot; "गूच त्रोभक याहार गूच भीग्य वासी।
न भीमे वचन ६० रीख नाहि कि छि॥ २०
। से आधार मुवने से प्रमुख भासन।
से स्थार सबुढ ग्रंड वें कुळ मुबन॥ २६
ग्रंच ग्रंच महाभूच से मुबनस्थान।
सच जेंक्रे महाभूच हो दिह निक्षाण ॥ २०
नाहि स्था नाहि चन्द भए दिक्षाल।
नाहि जन्म सत्यु नाहि तपत भौतल॥ २८
से भासने केते की टी युग वहि गला।
ग्रंण एवे घक्षंजात येंसते हो दला॥ २८
सहाप्रमु गुणि गुणि पाप कर्ले खंस।
स्थंक श्रीमख प्रमु क्लीक प्रकाभ ॥ ३०

through that glorious mouth was Pavana (wind or space) born. Bowing down his head (at the feet of the Lord) Pavana said 'Wherefore have you brought me into existence? Where shall I go?' The Lord replied 'Pavana, blow away quickly and come back after you have created the universe.' And in obedience to the directions of his father, Pavana went away saying 'I shall come back after I have created the world, as asked by you.' On his way, however, he reflected thus, 'If I were to create the world, I should not be able to return after I have seen the pleasures of it.' So he shrank back from the task of creation, and by practising yoga and dhyana, begot his son Yuga. 31-36. And he asked Yuga, 'You are to go immediately, and to come back only after you have created the world.' Upon receiving the orders

केत कर्य कार्ल प्रमु हाइए माइल ।

से हाइ श्रीमुख्य पवन जात हिल ॥ ३१

हमा होइ पवन जे वीलड़ गोंसाइ ।

कांहि यिव जात मीते कल कांहि पांड ॥ ३२

प्रमु वोइले पवन धातिकारे यितु ।
संसार प्रयो स्टिजण बाहु इं चासितु ॥ ३१

पिता चात्रा पाइ से पवन चिल गला ।

चासिव संसार स्टिज बोल कहि गला ॥ ३४

मने विचारिल यदि संसार स्टिजिव ।

देखिण संसारसुख चासि न पारिव ॥ ३५

ए संसार स्टिजिवल पवन हरिला ।

योगधान करि युग पुत जात कला ॥ ३६

of his father, Yuga flew away quickly, saying 'I shall return only after I have done your bidding.' But on his way he did thus deliberate, 'If I were to undertake the work of creation, I should not be able to come out after I have seen the pleasures of the world.' So he, too, was greatly afraid to undertake the creation and produced out of his body a son named Niranjana and said to him 'Go immediately and come back only after you have created the world.' 37-41. Having been thus directed by his father Niranjana did (in reality) go away but was highly afraid to create the world. 42. He could not thus create this world, but begot out of his own person a son named Nirguna; 43, and asked him to go

> यगकु बीदला एडि चया थितु। संसार प्रयो सनिय बाहु दि श्वासितु ॥ ३७ पिता भाजा युग वेगे चलि गला। भासिवि संसार खित बीलि कडि गला॥ ३८ वाटे विचारिला सने संसार स्विति। देखिया संसार सुख चासि न पारिवि ॥ इट युग पृथो स्टजिबाकुम इस्थय कला। निरञ्जन बीलि पुत देह जात कला॥ ४० वीदला तुनिरञ्जन एडि खाणि धिवु। संसार पृथी स्किच वाहड़ि चासित ॥ ४१ विता भाजा निरञ्जन चलि गला। ए संसार सजिवाबु महाभय कला 🛭 ४२ निरञ्जन ए संग्रार स्ट्रजि न पारिला। निग्रंप बीलिय पुत्र देषु जात कला॥ ४३

away instantly and to return after finishing the task of creation. 44. Nirguna, too, failed to create the world but produced from his body his son Guna 45; and said 'You are immediately to go away my child, and return only after you With these have created the universe.' 46. instructions from his father, Guna went away quickly but was highly afraid to undertake the task of creation. 47. He thought within himself 'Were I to create the world, I should not be able to come out of it after I have seen its pleasures.' 48. So Guna, too, failed to create the world and (in his turn) brought out of his person a son named Thula (Sthula); 49. and told him to go immediately and come back after he had created the universe. 50. Thula flew away

वोदला त निर्ण एक् खिषा यित ।
संसार पृथी स्तिण वाहक भासिव ॥ ४४
निर्मुण कि ए संसार स्ति न पारिला ।
गुण वोलि करि पुत द्र कात कला ॥ ४५
गुण वोलि करि पुत द्र कात कला ॥ ४५
गुण वोदला वापु एक खण यित ।
संसार पृथी स्तिण वाहक भासित ॥ ४६
रिता भाजा पाद गुण वंगे चिल गैला ।
ए संसार स्तिवाल महाभय कला ॥ ४०
मने विचारिला यदि संसार स्तिवि ।
देखिण संसार स्ति न पारिति ॥ ४८
गुण कि संसार स्ति न पारिता ।
दुल वोलि करि पुत देल जात कला ॥ ४८
दलकु वोदले वापु एक् खणे यितु ।
संसार पृथी स्तिण वाहक भासित ॥ १५०

speedily, having been thus directed by his father, but was greatly afraid to undertake the task. 51. He shrank back from creating the universe in great fear and sat down on his way heaving deep sighs. 52. He was absorved in deep meditation and abstraction, and begot of his own person a son named Dharma; 53, and said to him 'Go quickly, my child, and come back after having (created and) experienced the pleasures of the world,' 54. 'But you must be very quick in going from and coming back to this place, or else you will be overtaken by Moha on your way and will never be able to come back at all.' 55. Unable to disobey the words of his father, Dharma went away saying that he would return as soon as he had done with the creation. 56. But even he was afraid to create the world though he had left his father with the above

> पिता आ जापाइ ठ्ज वैने चिल गला। ए संसार सञ्ज्ञाल महाभय काला ॥ ५१ ठुल 🕏 उरिला पृथी मृजिवार पाद । वाटरी वसिला उरि नियास पकाइ ॥ ५२ मद्दायीगध्यान करि ठुख हि वसिखा। धर्मायौति एक पुत्र देह जात कला॥ ५३ घर्म कुवी इला वापु वेगे हो इ यिव्। मंसारभोग चर्जिंग वाहिंदि चासित ॥ ५४ चासिव वेग चौरत एजे ठाक थिवा। मोह होद्र पढ़िपये पासि न पारिवा॥ ५५ विजाद वचन धर्मभाङि न पारिला। चानिवि संसार संजिबी जिल्लिक दिनला॥ ५४

words and sat down to think out (some way whereby he could extricate himself). 57. He said to himself 'Father's words are inviolable. Were I to fall back from the task of creation. I should meet with certain destruction. 58. But what an insoluble riddle it is! Even the Rsis, when overtaken by Moha, come to destruction. How then am I to create moha and yet live safe and secure?' 59. Having thus reflected within himself, Dharma sat down in extreme anxiety and trouble of mind, and his body began to perspire. 60. He then wiped his forehead with his hand and shook off the drops of perspiration upon the ground; and from there a woman sprang up. 61. She was a young lady in full bloom with sweet and gentle smiles (upon her lips) . . . 62. Having seen her, Dharma was amorously inclined, and he

घर्ष हि से संसार मृजिवाक खरिला।

पिता बुले जाद घर्ष भालि न वसिला॥ ५०
वीदले घर्ष पिता घाना भाकि न पारिलि।
संसार न मृजिलेत नियय नाथ गलि॥ ५८
मोह द्दीद पिंड स्थिमाने भी ह जालि।
सुद स्थि मोह जिश्व करि एकि भालि॥ ५८
टेइ गम गम घन थिपछ हदला।
विचारि मनरे घर्ष भालि न वसिला॥ ६०
कपालु माल पाणि इसे फिक्टि देवै।
मे पाणि मूमिरे पिंड खो जनमिले॥ ६१
नव युवा हो दले मूमिरे पिंड जाद।
इसिले भालप होद से धीरे भगदा॥ ६२

held in hand the seed that flowed out. 66. Then Dharma let the seed drop there, which fell in three different parts. 71. And out of the seed Brahma, Visnu and Içvara were born. Dharma was highly pleased to see these three sons. 72. Then he said to Brahmā 'You are to go and create the world;' to Visnu 'You are to destroy the demons'; 73. and to Icvara 'Because you occupy a junior place to Brahma and Visnu, you are to go and practise abstraction and meditation.' 74. 'I am now going away to where my father is; (but) you, three brothers, are to remain here and create the the world.' 75. Then the goddess said "Having begotten me from your forehead, you are my father. How then am I to live with the sons, leaving their father?" 76. Dharma replied 'Why

धर्म देवताये देखि न इसमाल ही इला खिसलाक बोन पड़ इसरे घरिना ॥ ६६ एते बोलि धर्म बोन से ठारे टालिन ।
तिन खर्क होइ बौज से ठारे पिइली ॥ ७१ पिइल से ठारे बीज से ठारे पिइली ॥ ७१ पिइल से ठारे बीज से जाता । ७२ जन्नाल बोइले तुम्मे प्रथी जात कर ।
विश्व देखि धर्म होइले ल्यत ॥ ७२ जन्नाल बोइले तुम्मे प्रथी जात कर ।
विश्व दोइले तुम्मे प्रथी जात कर ।
वश्व दोइले तुम्मे प्रशी कर ध्यान ।
वश्वा विश्व दुद्द भाद ठाक तु जी सान ॥ ७४ पामे जल्मक जे पिता ठाल मोर ।
तुम्मे विन भाद मृजिव चंतार ॥ ७५ देवी बोइले कपाल जात कलुं मोते ।
वाप हांकि पुत्र सक्ने रहिनि कि सते ॥ ७६

will you go with me? With all the pleasures of the world, all the people will come to worship you here. 77. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara, my three sons, will create here the play-house of the world. 78. (Though but one) you yourself will be millions in form, as tutelary deities of villages; and every day will you have millions of worship the wide world over.' 79. (Then) he added 'Brahmā will create the world and fill this play-house with great dolls (i.e., beings).' 80 . . . And thus were they begotten of Dharma . . . 91. And thus the mother remained here with her sons and having (thus) created the world Dharma went back to the place of his father.' 92.

From the above account of creation quoted in extenso we come clearly to know that both the elements and the attributes sprang into existence from the Supreme Lord of the universe, viz.,

घर्ष वील मागी सक्ते किया निवा ।

एवी भीग घेनी सब सेवा तु घेनिवा ॥ ७०

जिल्ला विश्व हर तिनि पुत्र मी हर ।

एखाने सन्ति संसार खेल घर ॥ ७०

तुषी लचे दग हव गामश्री दिशे ।

लचे पूजा पाइव दिनर पृथिवी जाकी ॥ ७८
वीइल घर्ष त्रह्म मृनिव संसार।

महा पुतली पानि करिने खेल घर ॥ ६०

एमना प्रकार तर्हु धर्मा जात हिला ।

घर्म रखि खेति मृति संसार घोरखा ॥ ८१

एमनी मा पुत घेनि ए दारे रहिली ।

संसार मृजिया धर्मा पिता ठाकु गली ॥ ८१

Mahāçunya. In the beginning he was destitute of all attributes; then he came to develop attributes and assumed a material form. Thereafter he manifested himself as Dharma and from the sweat of his brow created a beautiful woman representing the primordial energy universe. And from this did Brahma, Visnu and Maheçvara spring; and to them were made over the charge and the care of the creation.

We meet with a similar description of creation in the Cūnya Purāna of Rāmāi Pandita. of all, he derives the wind or space, time and the elements from the Mahāçunya and then from his body, which was Dharma itself, Nirañjana. From the sweat of Nirañjana's brow did the primordial energy spring, from which again did Brahmā, Visnu and Maheçvara have their beings. The reader will now agree with us in thinking, we may hope, that the influence of the Dharma cult as expounded by Rāmāi Pandita is largely reflected in the Dharmagita of Mahadeva Dāsa. Just as one hears certain classes of the people sing Dharma-Mangala in different places of the Radha country, so one will hear, in some parts of Mayūrabhañja, the tribes known as Pāna, Bāthuris, &c., to sing the Dharmagītā by Mahādeva Dāsa. *

Mahādeva Dāsa has also adopted the same theory of creation as has been promulgated

^{*} For Dharma cult, See Bengal Census Report, (1901). Pt. I. p. 204. and Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal, by M. M. Haraprasad Căstri.

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by the Mahāyāna Buddhism. He has also followed Rāmāi Paṇḍita by representing Dharma as male, while the Buddhists of Nepal worship Dharma as a female divinity, giving it the name of Prajñā or the primordial energy.

Balarāma Dāsa also, while designating 'Mahāçūnya' as 'Nirañjana,' regarded 'Dharma' as the primordial energy. Thus in his Gaṇeça-Vibhūti-ṭīkā he says—

"महा निष्यस्थान रेटी ए व्रत प्रमाण । ग्राहिमाता देवी से देवता महाशून्य ॥ सिख तंहि ग्राहिमाता सखा निरञ्जन । तत्त्व करि कहि देवा हेतु करि चिन।"। (२य ग्रध्याय)

"That goddess is the Ādimātā and that god is Mahāçūnya. And that Ādimātā and Nirañjana are related to one another as friend. This is the (real) secret, but try to understand them more particularly."

In the Svavambhū Purāna of Nepal Dharma is represented as Prajūā-Pāramitā or Buddha-Mātā i.e. the mother of all Buddhas, who has no beginning, no end—

''धर्मदयास्त्रस्पेस तृै लोक्ये च प्रस्यापिता। सर्व्यतयागतानास्त्र जननी इति स्थापिता। स्वगाननेति नासेन स्वदर्शगूनारपिकी॥ शूनातां शूनातां सातां बुद्धमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता। प्रजापारिमतास्पी वौद्वानां जननी तथा।''*

^{*} Vide Bribat Svayambhu Purana (A. Society's Edition), pp. 1 '9-18'.

"Dharma is known throughout the three worlds as Dayā (mercy); and is regarded as the mother of all the Tathagatas. And having the colour of the sky and the form of the Cunya. she is named Khagānanā.

"Mother Çünyatā is known as Buddha-Mātā and in the form of Prajñā Pāramitā she is also the mother of the Buddhists."

Just as here Çünyatā or Prajñā Pāramitā is looked upon as the mother of all the Tathagatas or Buddhas i.e. as the Adimata, so in various places of the Cunya-Samhitā of Achyutānanda, Dharma, or for the matter of that, the void itself, is treated as the mother of all the gods; and the Paramatman is used synonymously with the Great Void, thus :-

''ब्राह्म देवप्राता शून्ये बरदाता रहाङ्कु शून्यटि कहि ।'' (९४ ग्रध्याय) । "पाम-त्रात्माठि महाश्रुच वोलि भाव।" (२२ ज्रिष्माय)।

"The primordial mother of the gods, the bestower of boons upon Çūnya, is herself known as the Çūnya." "Think of the Paramātman itself as the Mahā-Cūnya."

It is clear and evident from the Gītās of Mahādeva Dāsa and Balarāma Dāsa that the Buddhist Vaisnavas of Utkala were divided between two camps of faith. According to one, Dharma, designated as Niranjana, was the first cause of the universe and his form was Çunya or Void. Not unlike the followers of the Dharma-cult of the Rādha country who have associated and mixed up the following description of Visnu with the

dhyana of Maha-Cunya-" मुक्ताम्बरधरं देवं मणिवर्ध चतुर्भुजं। प्रसन्नवदनं धायेत सर्व्वविद्योपशान्तये॥" "For the alleviation of all troubles and distresses one should call upon the four-handed god, clad in a white piece of cloth and having the colour of the moon and a graceful countenance"-they. too, incorporated the description contained in the above line with their mystic syllable "at श्चावद्वाणे नमः " "Om, salutation to the Cunya Brahman." The other camp regarded and worshipped Dharma as a female divinity. Just as the image of Dharma is a highly sacred object in Nepal and is worshipped in every Chaitya there, so in the Chaityas of Mayurabhañja, Dharma, was enshrined and worshipped in the female form. In the beginning of the Eighteenth Century the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddhagupta Tathagatanatha, witnessed this worship in that place. In the vicinity of Haribhañja Chaitya, visited by this Tibetan pilgrim, we also discovered, in the course of our exploration, a similar stone-ligure of Dharma.

NIRVANA.

We have found in the long extract made above from the Dharmagitā that the author used the words Nirvāna and Mahāçūnya as synonyms for Vaikuntha.* Now, the term Nirvāna has been

[&]quot;खयं निर्व्याण जी कल इपिकेशी। ते भूच साइसी चलपिचे चाल दिशि। से स्थान सबुक ग्रंड वैकुस्तुनन।"

explained by many scholars as the complete annihilation of being; and this is also the interpretation that obtains among the people. But it is not corroborated by Dharmagita. according to which the term is neither negative nor privative but a positive one, denoting no annihilation of being but the essence of it. And this is just the view that Mr. Suzuki adopts in his Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus he says,--

"The Mahavana Buddhism was the first religious teaching in India that contradicted the doctrine of Nirvana as conceived by other Hindu thinkers who saw in it a complete annihilation of being; for they thought that existence is evil, and evil is misery, and the only way to escape misery is to destroy the root of existence, which is nothing less than the total cessation of human desires and activities in Nirvānic unconsciousness. Yoga taught self-forgetfulness in deep meditation. the Samkhya, the absolute separation of Purusa from Prakriti, which means undisturbed self-contemplation; the Vedanta, absorption in the Brahman, which is the total suppression of all particulars; and thus all of them considered emancipation from human desires and aspirations to be a heavenly bliss, that is Nirvana."

In his Nirākāra-Samhita Achyutānanda Dāsa declares Nirvana to be the last stage of the religious life. He says-

> "ब्रसानन्द येह् ग्रविय ग्रयक्त दियानन्द तहु जागा। ताङ्क गुम्नाय सञ्चिदानन्दि स्वयं ग्रनादि निर्वाण ।"

D. T. Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 340.

"Know him who is Brahmānanda (who finds delight in the Brahman) to be the unrevealed Divyānanda. The name of his Guru is Satchidānanda, who is no less than the Anādi (without beginning or end) Nirvāṇa."

In fact, the several prominent Vaisnava poets of Orissa, such as Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Chaitānya Dāsa, Achyuta Dāsa, and Mahādeva Dāsa, in their respective works, use the terms 'Mahāçūnya' 'Cūnya Brahma,' 'Vaikuntha' and 'Nirvāṇa' as conveying one and the same meaning.

ANUTTARA YOGA.

Abundant materials are on record to prove sufficiently that Anuttara Yoga or Hatha Yoga obtained largely among the crypto Buddhists of Orissa. According to Lāmā Tāranātha, Tāntrism, which was only a popular but degraded form of Yoga, was transmitted from the time of Asanga and Dharma-kīrti. While endorsing the above view Dr. Kern writes, "After Dharma-kīrti's time the Anuttara Yoga became more and more general and influential." The religious works by Balarāma Dāsa and others furnish proofs in favour of this opinion. The Buddhists as well as the Çaivas regard Gorakṣanātha as the founder of the Haṭha-Yoga system. The Vaiṣṇava-Buddhistic work, entitled Amara-paṭala opens with a prologue containing a dialogue between Gorakṣanātha and Mallikānātha. The works by Achyutānanda and Balarāma, too, pay a sufficient homage to Guru Mīnanātha, Guru

Goraksanātha, Mallikānātha, Vīrasimha, Lohīdāsa, Bāligā-dāsa and others.

BHAKTI AND BRAHMAVADA.

Dr. Kern justly observes—

"Mahāyānism lays a great stress on devotion, in this respect as in many others harmonising with the current of feeling in India which led to the growing importance of Bhakti. It is by the feeling of fervent devotion combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people and has become a factor in the history of mankind, of much greater importance than orthodox Buddhism."+

The Oriya works of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagan-nātha Dāsa, Chaitanya Dāsa and Achyuta Dāsa are permeated with a spirit of devotion; and there are many songs in these which display a high spiritual emotion. Besides, the Mahāyāna School indicates a conception of the Brahman which is based on the lines of the Vedanta Philosophy. "It would perhaps be more accurate to say that it is a pantheistic doctrine with a theistic tinge; Buddha takes the place of the personified masculine Brahman of the Vedanta."1

^{*} Pag-sam-jon-zang (by Sumpo Khampo), a renowned Buddhist Scholar of Tibet) says "About this time (ir. the 13th Century A.D.) foolish Yogis who were followers of Buddhist Yogi Goraksauatha became Civaite Sannyasis." Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1898, pt. 1. .. 25.

[†] Dr. Kern's Buddhism, p. 124. † Do. do. p. 124. do. p. 124 note.

The works of the above mentioned authors abound with passages substantiating this construction. They show how Buddhism developed the idea of the Brahman, and how this Buddhistic ideal lastly evolved itself out in the creed of the later Vaisnavas. The following extract from the Çūnya-Samhitā of Achyuta Dāsa will sufficiently illustrate this-

> "परमे परम होइला गोपन ग्राग्रे कला ग्रनादि कि। ग्रलेखपुरे निरञ्जन पाटना दिव्यद्य तीइ लेखि॥ कालिन्दी अहम्बमूले देवगण सर्वाङ्गरः भाल भरे। रमामेमाकुत चन्पकलिता मेमलता प्रिय स्वरे॥ शुभु ऋच्छिर वाशो मधुर से ध्वनि पौयूष रस से रसे । महाश्रुच यहिं रातू दिवा नाहि कोटिसूर्य परकाशे॥ देखिए ग्रचेत इजिला सचेत जले जल गला मिशि। तेजरे तेज मिशिला वितपन वायुरे वायुटि मिशि॥ प्रथ्वी ग्राप तेज वायव्य ग्राकाश पञ्चात्मक पञ्चजन। प्रत्यक्ते परम श्रद्धः श्रनाम सद्दाश्रुन्ये द्वेला लीन ॥ महाशूना जोति श्रह्म ग्राश्रुति हम रेख यहिं नाहिं। हुताश्रन द्याग्न महाश्रम होइ स्रोतिरानन्द वोलाइ॥"

(२३ ग्रधाय)

"The essence is hidden in the primordial essence, the part is absorbed in the eternal whole. On the spotless Alekhapura is imprinted a divine form. On the bank of the Kalindi, under the Kadamba tree, the gods begin to shed lusters from their bodies. Hearing the sweet voice of

Champaka-lalitā and Prema-latā, Ramā is mad with love. The voice is as sweet as music, and as delicious as nector. In the Great Void where there is no day and no night, millions of suns begin to shine. I saw the animated world lost in the inanimate, water mixed with water. fire with fire, and air with air. The five senses made up of the five substances-earth, water, fire, air, and sky -became merged in the great eternal void without form and without name in my presence. The Great Void is effulgent, it has no sense of sight or hearing, there is not a single line or form in it. That brilliant Fire becomes the Great Void and is called Jyotirananda (blissful light.)"

CRYPTO BUDDHISTS OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

The Madhyamikas were absolute Anatmavadins (champions of the doctrine of nonegoism); while the aforesaid devout poets were all of them Atmavadins (followers of the doctrine of egoism) though they supported the doctrine of the void, for Paramatman, the great Ego or the Great Void, was, as the Brahman, the central idea about which all the effervescense of their devout poetic inspirations gathered. How then can these poets be regarded as Crypto-Buddhists?

It has been shewn in the beginning of this treatise that the ancient Buddhistic community came to be divided, in course of time, into various sects. Of these the Yogachara School believed in the existence of the soul or Ego,

^{*} Vide Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism.

but the others did not subscribe to this belief. We have also found that the Madhyamikas looked with some disfavour and suspicion upon the Bodhisattvayānas or Çrāvakayānas, closely following the footsteps of the Sthavira Sect, because many of them were found to believe in the existence of the soul or Ego. It has further been noted almost at the outset that the sect of the Mantrayanas which sprang into existence about the fourth Century A.D. believed in the unification of the Jīvātman (individual soul) and the Paramātman (the universal soul). Nāgārjuna the expounder of the doctrine of the void and after him Dinnaga, the great Buddhistic logician, had exercised great influences in Utkala. Even so late as the seventh Century when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chuang) came to visit India, he found here many remnants of their influences. Though in Odra he had found the Mahāyānists in all their glory and greatness, what he saw in Kalinga was but the Mahāyāna Sthavira Sect. The sect of the Hīnayānas sprang from the primitive Sthavira cult, and it is very likely that the Mahāyana Sthavira Sect which came into existence in later times was simply the outcome of the union of these two into one. For long the voice of the Hīnayānas was the predominant one in Northern Bengal, and though in the time of the Pala Dynasty many of them were forced to embrace the creed of the Mahāyānists, yet their original doctrines, ideas and beliefs were not altogether effaced; rather, they grew and were mixed up with their new acquisitions. We

have already said that Nagarjuna had accepted the theories and doctrines of the Gita and the Upanisads. No wonder, therefore, that the Mantrayanas, who followed his creed, also accepted and tried to assimilate the Atmavada, doctrine of egoism, as expounded in the Gītā. Nepal was the chief abode of the Mahāyānists. After the principal Buddhist College of Nalanda was destroyed and razed to the ground on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, many of the Buddhist Cramanas of the place went to and took refuge in Nepal with their religious scriptures. The relics of these sacred writings are even now to be met with there. It was with the help of these and with the assistance rendered by one of Vajrāchāryas of the present Vajrayāna sect of Nepal, which is only a debased form of the Mantrayana cult, derived in its turn from the Mahāyāna School, that Mr. Hodgson has been able to detect four different sects dividing amongst themselves the Buddhistic community of the place. The names of these four schools are Svābhāvikas, Aigvarikas, Kārmikas and Yātnikas, Mr. Hodgson's remarks may be thus summed up-

The Svābhāvikas, apparently the oldest of the four schools, is again subdivided into two sects, viz., Svābhāvikas simple and Prājnika Svābhāvikas. The former hold that nature or matter alone exists, engaged in an eternal evolution of entity and non-entity; while, according to the latter, matter in two modes, abstract or proper and concrete or contingent, is the sole substance. All the active and intelligent powers are unitised in the first mode, as inherent in matter, which is here deified and held to be unity, immutability, rest and bliss. The actual and visible nature, the scene of action, multiplicity, change and pain, is the result of the second mode. The first is called Nivṛtti and the second Pravṛtti. The powers of matter in their unity are indescribable; but in their concrete forms, i.e., as nature, 'they are symbolised by the yoni and personified as a female divinity called Ādi-Prajñā and Ādi-Dharma.' Transmigrations are due to Pravṛtti, Nivṛtti producing eternal bliss. To attain this is the summum bonum (the highest good) of man.

In their interpretation of Nivrtti, there is a division amongst the Aicvarikas, some holding that 'Buddha represents intellectual essence and is the sole entity,' and others that 'Dharma or material essence exists with Buddha in Nivrtti,' the two being inseparable there. When the essential principle of matter passes into the state of Pravrtti, Buddha, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it; and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a female, first the matter and then the wife of Buddha.

The Kārmika School is so called from the word Karma, 'meaning moral action,' and the yātnika from the word yatna, signifying intellectual force, skilful efforts.' They are simply later developments of and supplements to the

first two schools. Both the Svabhavikas and the Aicvarikas had in their own ways 'assigned that eternal necessary connection of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed.' Kārmikas and the Yātnikas did not raise this question but confined themselves 'to the phenomena of human nature, its free-will, its sense of right and wrong and its mental power-to the wisdom of Svabhāva or Prajñā or Ādi-Buddha.' There were two questions here-Is that connection to be realized by man by 'the just conduct of his understanding?' or, is it to be realized by 'the proper cultivation of his moral sense?' In reply, the Yātnikas stood for the understanding and the Karmikas for the moral sense, and thus they removed "the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient Prajnika and even to the Aiçvarika School, because of the want of providence and of dominion in their first cause." · Cākya gives the following descriptions of Karma and Yatna in Divyāvadāna, "The Union of Upāya and Prajñā is Karma, while Yatna is produced by Îçvara (i.e., Ādi-Buddha) from Prajna or Nivrtti, and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by Yatna." Impersonality and quiescence of the first cause with which the Svābhāvikas and the Aiçvarikas were charged were removed by these two schools by attributing free-will to man and moral attributes to God. The Kārmikas believe that fate is their own creation "पूर्व्यजन्मकृतं कर्म तहैविमिति कथाते."

Just as in Nepal the whole Buddhistic community is found at present to have been divided into four different sects, so in Utkala, after the destruction of Nālanda, the resident Buddhists were divided into several prominent sects, all springing up as results of the contact they successively came in with the different phases of Buddhism. Even so late as the 16th Century traces of their quondam influence and relics of their scriptures were discernible in Utkala. Achyutānanda Dāsa has thus referred to these schools in his Çūnya-Samhitā—

"नागान्तक वेदान्तक योगान्तक जेते। नाना प्रति विधिरे कहिले तोष चिते॥ गोरखनायङ्क विद्या वीरसिंह ग्राज्ञा। सिल्लकानायङ्क योग बाउली प्रतिज्ञा॥ लोहिदास कपिलङ्क साज्ञिमन्त्र जेते। कहिले जे येमन्त से होईक्रि गुपते॥" (१० ग्रथ्याय)

"The Nāgāntāka (followers of Nāgārjuna), the Vedāntaka, (or Sautrāntika Schools) and the Yogāntaka (or Yogāchāra School)—all these have laid down, with all the sincerity of their faiths, various laws and bye-laws of conduct. The system of religious observances and practices inaugurated by Gorakṣanātha and the command of Vīra Simha, the Yoga system of Mallikānātha, the doctrine of the Bāuli or Bāula Sect, and the Sākṣimantras of Lohidāsa and Kapila—all these have been buried in secrecy."

Now, on the strength of these lines we can safely assert that Nāgāntaka or the Mādhyamika

Philosophy introduced by Nāgārjuna, the Yogāchāra or the system of rites and observances closely akin to those of Yoga as introduced and enjoined by Asanga and others, and the timehonoured school of Buddhism, called Sautantrika, dealing with ancient Sutras or Buddhistic dogmas based upon the Upanisads-these three schools of thought; and the Hatha-Yoga systems introduced and propagated by Gorakṣanātha* and Mallikānātha who flourished in later times, the doctrines of the Baula sect, and the mantras introduced by Lohidasa,† and Kapila-all these were all along alive and active, though driven underground by the force of many antagonistic circumstances. We take the Aiçvarika, Kārmika or Yātnika School of thought which obtains among the Buddhistic community of Nepal, to be but the latest phases of the Yogantaka School of philosophy (which is in reality an attempt at a compromise between the ancient Yogāchāra

^{*} Guru Goraksanatha was a disciple of Minanatha otherwise known as Matsyendra. The memory of the latter is worshipped by the Newar Buddhists as being the tutelary deity of Nepal. In the history of Tibetan Buddhism Goraksanātha occupies a very prominent place, being honoured and worshipped as one of the principal Buddhist sages. We learn from the pen of Lama Taranatha, historian of Buddhism, that the whole sect of the disciples and followers of Goraksanatha embraced the cult of Caivism in the thirteenth century A.D. Even now he is held in great esteem and deified as Civa by the Yogi class. It has been hinted at in Cunya-Samhita that both he and Mallikanatha were Yogarurhas, i.e. staunch adherents of the system of Yogachara.

[†] In the religious books of the Dharma cult of Rarha, Lohidasa has been referred to as Lohichandra or Luhichandra. In Cunyapurana we find an allusion to the worship of Dharma or Cunya by Rājā Harichandra, father of Lohichandra, and Madana his mother. Mention is made in Cunya-Samhita also of the pravrajya, matha and Nirakara-Dhyana resorted to by Lohidasa, and the reverse mode of Sadhana (devotion and prayer) after the principles of 'Nagantaka' or Nagarjuna.

and the Vedānta Philosophy), and the Svābhāvika or Prājňika Svābhāvika School, also to be met with there, survived as the Nāgāntaka School of Orissa-being a later development of the Mādhyamika School inaugurated by Nāgārjuna. It also becomes clear and evident even from Çūnya-samhitā that in the 16th Century A.D., Utkala was largely under the influence of the Mahāyāna School in its two branches of Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika. Besides, it has been clearly established from the Visnugarbha of Chaitanya Dāsa and the Dharmagītā of Mahādeva Dāsa that the worship of the Pañcha-Dhyani Buddha which even now obtains among the Newar Buddhists and the worship and narration of the traditional story of Dharma introduced by Rāmāi Pandit in the time of the Pala Kings, were in vogue in Utkala at the time. To escape the persecution and oppression which followed in the reign of Raja Prataparudra, upon the Buddhists of all sects and schools, a large majority of them embraced the Gaudiya phase of Vaisnavism of Lord Crī Chaitanya. But it does not seem likely nor is it reasonable to expect, that all of them were earnest and sincere converts to the later Vaisnavism of Gauda. On the contrary, we hope, it would not be too much to infer and assert that though many of them gave themselves out to be devout Vaisnavas and staunch and loyal devotees of Mahaprabhu, yet they were, in their heart of hearts, but votaries of Buddha. And we can safely count Achyutānanda, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha and Chaitanya Dāsa, referred to before, among this

class of Vaisnavas. Achyutānanda has himself thrown a flood of side light upon this in his Cunyasamhita. It is related in his Nirākāra-Samhitā that implicitly obeying the direction of Cri Chaitanya, Achuytananda first became a convert to Vaisnavism under Sanātana Gosvāmi and following the custom and practice of this sect, he put on all their outward marks. Referring to himself in his work he says that shortly after his conversion to-Vaisnavism, he could in no way bring his mind to take any the least interest in mundane matters. With the lapse of time this tendency became more and more marked, and his parents grew more and more dissatisfied and disgusted with Thus the only bonds that tried to tie him down to the concerns of the world, brokeasunder of themselves, making him quite loose and free to follow the dictates of his own soul. In course of time the Nirguna made Himself manifest to him, illumining the innermost recessesof his heart and calming and pacifying the storm of passion and desire. At length, ten years and ten months after his conversion, at the foot of the western banian tree and in the villageof Tripura on the bank of the river Patana, he was graced by the presence of his Guru Brahma in his naked and untrimmed sublimity. His name was 'Mahānanda'. The mighty preceptor initiated him into the secrets and mysteries of religion and explained to him that the ultimate object of devotion, upon which alone the mind was to be concentrated, with reference to the attainment of which the whole life was to be regulated, and which was greater than the

greatest of the preceptors, was 'Sachchidānanda' 'Anādi Nirvāṇa.'*—a stage where it is all eternal life, eternal bliss and consciousness. A short while after this Achyuta came to the forest of Daṇdaka, on the eastern bank of the Prāchī and visited many Rṣis and Tapasvins (hermits, sages and ascetics). The misunderstandings and dissensions, which prevailed among these, have not been passed over in silence in Cūnya Saṃhita. About a week after this, at dead of night and in the heart of a dense forest, he was graced with the presence of Lord Buddha. Achyuta has thus alluded to him in his Cūnya Saṃhitā:—

"For five or seven days I walked into the dense forest in search of my Lord. One day at dead of night when I was deeply absorbed in studying the details of those who have met him and who have not, I was graced with His presence. He said 'Long and tedious has been the separation between myself and the five souls of my life. I would not rest till I met you.' Having heard this, I fell prostrate at His feet, cried aloud "Saved, O I am saved now!' and informed Him of all the thoughts and ideas of my mind. Having heard me, the Lord burst into a fit of laughter and said 'Listen, Achyuta, to what I say. In the Kaliyuga, I have made myself manifest again as Buddha. It is desirable, however, for you in the Kaliyuga to hide your Buddhistic frames of mind away from view. You (five) are indeed

Vide Nirâkâra Samhitâ,

my five souls, my five lives. Having undergone incarnation, I have found you back. All troubles and calamities will now be put an end to by means of the Nirākāra-mantra (devotion to formless Brahman or Cunya). Having saved yourselves first by this, you will save others afterwards. tell you, take refuge in Buddha,—in mother Adi-cakti or the first primordial energy (i.e. Dharma) and in the Saugha* (congregation). By devoting yourself to the Nirākāra, you will be chastened and purified with an influx of piety, all pure and transparent. Having said all this, He initiated me into the religion of the Nirādhāra, (self-sustained) and instructed me to go back into the world and propagate this religion (as the means of salvation) in this Kaliyuga. The Lord said also "Know that Buddha is none else but Brahma Himself. And in this form do I dwell inside all bodies. Go, Ye Achyuta, Ananta, Jacovanta, Balarāma and Jagannātha, go and publish what I say to you." Having been thus ordered, we five, instead of going to Manayāna entered the forest when Rsis and Tapasvins, the Sannyāsins, the followers of Vīra Simha, Rohidasa and Kapila, and the Baula sect, all these bodies gathered together in an assembly, and there made known the wishes and directions of the Lord. I explained to them the Mantra, Yantra and Karanyāsa, appropriate to the Cunya or Void. Upon this all the sages blessed themselves and blessed the name of the Lord. They then under-

^{*} By many of the later ill-informed writers Sangka was changed into Sankka.

stood that Çūnya Brahma, devoid of all forms, Himself resides as light, inside all bodies. The moving and the stationary, the insect and the fly, inside all these are the Çūnya Puruṣa, and the Çūnya Yantra. The Nirākāra (formless) Yantra which is the essence (emblem?) of the Çūnya-puruṣa, who is a helpmate of the meek in spirit, has revealed all this out of great kindness."

'''पाच सात दिनरे प्रवेग हेल याह'।
गहने खटु पसु नियोगरे याहे॥
निश्च चर्डमानेन पड़द तारतम।
के पादना न पादना प्रसु नियोगेच॥
घवधान हीन्ति सतु जनमाने पाद।
एहि समयन ये दर्गन कलु याह॥
वोदले भो पाच पच गाखा काहि थिल।
नियोग न रूचे भोते तुक्षेत नदल॥
एहा ग्राणि चरचर तले सु' पहिलि।
निस्तरिलि निस्तरिलि वीलिण वोदलि॥
जनाइलि कासुरे सक्ख कथा सुई।
इतिण छठिने प्रसु टह हहेड॥
वोदले चलुत तुक्षे गुण चाक्ष वाचो।
कलियुने बुहरूपे प्रकाणिन पुणि॥
कलियुने वोहरूपे निजरूप गोष्य।

तुक्षी भीर पञ्च भावा भट पञ्च प्रायः।
भवतार श्रेकी द्येते तुक्ष पादः पुत्रः॥
निराकार मन्त्रे कर्न्य दुर्गत इति ।
भापने तरिया से द्ये परे तराइतः॥
वुद्ध माता भादिशक्ति संघ भक्ति पादः॥
निराकार भजने निर्मंद भक्ति पादः॥

There can now be no shadow of a doubt about the fact that the five great souls, viz. Balarāma, Achyuta, Ananta and Jagann**ā**tha. Jacovanta Dāsa, who have up till now generally passed for devout Vaisnava poets, were in the sixteenth century the 'five lives' of the Buddhists i.c. mighty pillars of the great structure of the crypto Buddhistic community of Utkal. They acknowledged and sang the glory of the Trinity. We have already quoted, in connection with the

> एमल कद्भिमें देंले सक्व निराधार । भाजादेली कलियुगै कर या प्रचार ॥ चिक्रिय कडिले प्रभ स्वर्थ ब्रह्म एडि। मिडं एडि कपे चिक्क सर्वे घटेरिड ॥ यात्र पचा त पनन यशीवनदास। वलराम करादाथ कर या प्रकाश ॥ भाजा पाइ चान्धि पाच जन ये भाइल । मनयान न चलिलावने प्रवेशिल्। च्छवि तपि सद्भासी नामक वीरसिंह। रोष्टीटास बाउली कपिल येते सङ्गा सभा मखाद्रण ये वसिली मर्ब्ब तपि। पचारिली प्रभुद्ध कि चाचा द्वीर्द्र चिल्हा॥ कडिलि मुंगूनामल यलाकरन्यासः। तिप्रभाने अन्य अन्य कर्लिये प्रकाश ॥ देखिले ये यस ब्रह्म स्वयं कीति होई। घटे घटे विजे एडि ग्रन्थकाया देशी॥ स्यावर जङ्म की द्र पतङादि येते। ग्रन्थकाया ग्रन्थयन्त विजे घटे घटे॥ शून्य कायाकुये निराकार यन्त्र सार । भनाट्याकर्षदीन जनक सीदर॥"

> > (श्रून्यसंहिता १० व्यध्याय)

history of the Bāthuri tribe the Cūnya or Dharma Gāyatrī that is to be found in the 'Siddhantadambara' of Balarāma Dāsa. There also the meditation upon or the mental recitation of, this trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are hinted at, as the means of salvation. Manayāna that is alluded to in Cūnya Samhitā, seems to be but another form of the name, 'Mantrayana.' Achyutyananda said that in his time the influence of the Manayana or Mantrayana sect had considerably dwindled; and it was for this that the images of gods which were originally all of the mind, or to be realised from the mantras, had been reduced to images of wood, stone or earth, rendering it impossible to realise any longer their true natures and characteristics. And it was for this degeneration that Bhagavat propagated through the medium of these five men, the doctrine of the Cunya Brahman putting on the guise of Buddha, for the salvation of the sinner and the sufferer of the Kali-yuga. Though they were sincere Buddhists, being votaries of Buddha, yet they found it necessary, nay unavoidable, to keep their Buddhistic frames of mind hidden under the guise of Vaisnavism-for fear of the persecutions by the Brahmanas and Kings. It is for this that we find the following line in Achyutananda's Cūnya Samhītā—

"कलियुगे बौद्धको निजक्य गोपर"।

"It is desirable in the Kaliyuga that the followers of Buddha should be disguised."

INCARNATION OF BUDDHA.

Not only Achyuta Dāsa but almost all the ancient poets of Utkala when singing of the ten incarnations, have referred to Jagannātha or the Dāru-Brahma as being one and the same with the incarnation of Buddha, the saviour of men in the Kali-yuga.**

Vyāsa also expressed in his Bhāgavata Purāṇa (1.3.24)—

> "ततः कली संप्रवृत्त संमोद्याय सुरद्धिषाम्। बुद्धनाम्नाञ्जनसुत कीकटेषु मिवर्ष्यातः।"

"Then on the advent of Kaliyuga, for the purpose of misleading the Asuras, the Lord will be born in Kīkata as son to Añjana, and named Buddha."

But the devout poet Jagannāth Dāsa did not subscribe to this; he affirmed, on the contrary, in the fifth skandha of his Bhāgavata:—

"प्रबुद्ध बुद्ध ग्रवतारे। वेदर धर्मा इन्हाइवे। करियान करिबे पुन। पुन एमता समयरे। सकला वर्षा एक ठारे। चानिवस्तारि ए संसारे॥ निर्मुण धर्मा प्रचारिवे॥ एनु ए मायार धेयान॥ सिद्ध श्रद्भ द्वेव घरे घरे॥ वसि भुज्जिब सुगतरे॥"

"नवमे वन्दइ श्रीबुद्ध श्रवतार। बुद्धक्षे विजे कले श्रीनीलकन्टर॥"

Thus the poet Săraladăsa says în his Mahabharata,

[&]quot;In the ninth I pay my humble respects to the incarnation of Buddha who in the form of Buddha dwelt in the Nilachala i.e. Puri."

"Coming down to the world as the all-wise Buddha, the Lord will diffuse knowledge, give up the religion inculcated in the Vedas and promulgate the doctrine of the Nirguna. None will then worship māyā again. And at this time, all the different castes will again sit together when partaking of boiled rice."

The purport of the lines is this. For the diffusion of real knowledge, for the setting aside of the vedic forms of worship and for the introduction and promulgation of the worship of the Nirguṇa Brahma—Buddha's incarnation will take place. Would any Paurāṇika Hindu save a pious and sincere follower of Buddha, acknowledge that it was Buddha who diffused real knowledge and introduced the worship of the Nirguṇa? Chaitanya Dāsa in his Nirguṇamāhātmya while singing of the glories of the twelve Avatāras has found more or less fault with all the other eleven incarnations. It was only Buddha whom he found all pure and stainless. Thus he says of Buddha—

"वहुत वृद्ध भवतारे।
यभ धर्मा निन्दा करी।
सकल धर्मा दूर करि
भनेक कर्मा धर्मा फल।
याग तर्पण भादि करि।
धर्मा तक ये कलियुग।
सकल धर्मा भाइ करि।
से ब्रह्मभान यस भाइ ।
से ब्रह्मभान यस भाइ ।

इरि जिन्सिली ए संसारी ॥६८ व्यक्त साम कि प्रश्नीसिली ॥०० कि मेर फल भनुसरि ॥०१ यज्ञ तप व्रत फल ॥०२ ए सब्दे एक तुल्स धरि ॥०३ भालके व्रज्जज्ञान पर्वा ॥०४ भालके व्यक्त जान धरि ॥०५ भन्द न काइन्ति दाई ॥०६ भार भाल दी जी पर्वे मेठ ।०००

ए भावे तुंहि रचाकरि।

सकल धर्मा उपेचिले।

योगध्यानरे स्थिर मन।

त्रञ्जज्ञानकु इदे धरि ॥७८ त्रञ्जज्ञानकु साध्य करी ॥७८ राखिने त्रज्ञज्ञाने सन ॥८०"

"Incarnated as many Buddhas, Hari came down into the world. He found fault with the jajña-dharma, i.e. religion based upon sacrifices, offerings and oblations, and expressed himself highly in favour of (the attainment of) the knowledge of Brahman (as the basis and essence of religion). Holding works, religious practices, sacrifices, austerities, religious vows, tarpanas &c., equally useless with respect to the fruits they are expected to yield, he followed simply the sequence of actions accepting their results unaffected in the least.

"The Kali-yuga is like a tree of religion of which the knowledge of Brahma is the only root. Discarding all the other religions, he clung to the root, viz. knowledge of Brahman. Those who have not attained this knowledge, will wander from door to door in ignorance. So one (craving for salvation) will have to uproot all other decaying trees and all the other evil practices which have struck root in his mind. In this way only can he save himself, concentrating his mind all the while upon the knowledge of Brahman. Buddha discarded all the other forms of religion and only attempted, heart and soul, to attain the knowledge of Brahman, settling down his mind by practising yoga and dhyana and concentrating it upon the knowledge of Brahman."

We can very thoroughly understand from the above extract in what light Jagannātha or Buddha was held by these devout poets.

SANGHA OR THE CONGREGATION.

From the Cunya Samhitā we have gleaned the names of the places where these crypto Buddhists dwelt, as also the names of their leaders and their numbers as stated below:

Names of Places.	Names of Chiefs		Number of disciples.
Anantapur Câsana on the bank of the Prâchi On the banks of the	Dvija Krisnadāsa Mahāpāt	ra _.	1000
Madhurâ	Bhagavân of the Yadu Dyn and Gopa Daitâri	asty,	·
About Kuntinagara, Kâçi- pura, Kâlâgni, and			140
Rukunâ Chaurâ Kāçi Muktiçvara (a vil-		•••	140
lage near Bateçvara) The village of Nembâla on the Chitrotpalâ	Achyntânanda		255
North to the (place of)	Ananta, Dvija Ganeça Pati, Kantha Ganak and Dvija	ſ	200 (Dâsas) 300 of the
On the bank of Brah-	Şâranga		Yadu dynasty.
mani Yajanagara on the Vaita-		•••	300
Varâha-mandala on the Vaitarani	Bandhu Mahânti Jagadânanda Agnihotri	•••	300
vaitarani	ougammum Agmmotri	•••	

Achyutānanda says that thus veiling themselves in innumerable ways three thousand†

"ग्राउ भक्त येते मोर श्रष्ट्यन्ति बच्छि बा पट्मटीकारे। ठिको पाञ्च श्रत गुपत करिलुं इति करतु मनरे॥"

^{*} Cûnya Sambită, Chaps, XVII-XX.

[†] We find in Chapter XIX of Cûnya Samhitâ :-

[&]quot;From Padmatika you will know the names of the remaining votaries

votaries of Buddha were passing their days. Afraid of Kali, they were eagerly and anxiously waiting for the day when their Lord would again come down and reveal himself in all his glory. One and all of these Buddhists firmly believed that for the propagation of the religion based upon the knowledge of Brahman, Bhagavat Buddha would again be incarnated. This belief is expressed by Achyutananda in the following lines :--

"कमलाङ् श्रंशीजनिमबेश्रासिकलिरेचेव उदय। बारणबेले चिन्हाचिन्हि करिबे ग्रापे प्रभु देवराय ॥ मधरास श्रासि श्रापे बचाराशि बलधस्य कलिरे। तिन सहस् निज श्रंण ताहाजूर तेजिब प्रभु कि परे ॥"

"In the Kali-yuga a part of Kamalānka will come down into, and be born in, the world. After incarnation, He and His devotees will recognise one another. In the Kali-yuga Brahman will first of all come to Madhura, as Buddha, and will leave behind Him three thousand parts (i.e. faithful and devoted followers) of Himself."

of mine. For certain reasons known to myself, the names of just 500 devotees are kept concealed."

We are sorry, however, that the Padmatika work referred to above has not been found by us. It is very likely that further glimpses into the history of the crypto Buddhists of the 16th Century will be obtained when this work will be brought to light.

CHAPTER IV.

BUDDHISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Many facts have recently come to light which will go far to prove that though in the 17th Century Buddhism was generally considered to have fallen below the horizon, yet its setting beams were still lingering over and illumining many parts of the country. Lt. Col. Waddel the wellknown historian of Lāmāism has brought out an English translation of the accounts of the travels of Buddha Gupta Tathāgatanātha, written in the Tibetan tongue. It was early in the beginning of the 17th Century i.e. in 1608 that this great Buddhistic pilgrim came on a visit to India. We cannot do better than quote the following, two passages from the English translation of his account:—

"Thence (i.e. from Sambuddha) he went to Bengala via Jagannāth and Trilinga: thence to Pundravartagarasalini from which in twenty days he reached the shrines Kasramagaram and Devikotta in the upper part of Tripura where he remained in the monastery formerly built by the great Siddha Kronākara. He also visited Haribhanja, Phukrād and Palgar. In these countries the clergy and the books were numerous and the religion prosperous. While there, he heard a variety of esoteric teachings from the life (lips?) of a great Pundit named Dharma of the Hari-

bhania Chaitya and believed to be a pupil of great Siddha, and also found a Pandita Upasika Hetagarbaghanna. He also visited

chaitya and he saw the magic circles

of Janakāya and Siddhānya Kadaka.

"On returning to India proper, Buddha Gupta visited Trilinga Vidyānagar, Karņāṭaka and Bhamdoor. At the latter place he met the great Siddha Santagupta. Henceforth the pilgrim Buddhagupta is known as Buddhaguptanāth and he was especially empowered by the Jogin Dinakara and the great Guru Gambhiramati and he had taken instructions from the superior Uttara Suddhigarva and Gantapa, Belātikshana Bhirabandhu and Ghaghopa all of whom were followers of the aforesaid great Siddha Santagupta. He then went to Mahabodhi in the middle country and made a small house for meditation close to the north of Vajrāsana. Afterwards he visited the eight great shrines and Gridhrakuta Giriguphā and Prayaga. Forty-six years had now elapsed since his last meeting with Tirthanath. Then he built an assembly house on Khagendra hill to which many Yogis resorted and he received royal patronage."

Thus we find that even in the Seventeenth Century there were to be seen a large number of the ministers of Buddhism, of both sexes, and possessing great supernatural powers,—at Haribhañja, Phukrād and Pālgarh; and many Buddhistic scriptures of importance were also to be met with there. Let us now try to find out the exact situations of these places.

We learn from the aforesaid account that from Tipperah Buddhaguptanāth went to Haribhañja. When he came here in the 17th Century, the capital of Mayurabhañja was located at Hariharapur or Haripur. We are afraid there has been a confusion of names here, the name of the capital having been taken for the name of the whole country. Thus Haribhañia of the Tibetan traveller was no other than the old Mayurabhanja. It had for a long time been the centre of Buddhistic influence. Here it was that Buddhaguptanath visited the Haribhañja-chaitya; and it was here also that he learned many an esoteric truth from the lips of a great Dharma Pandit and also from a Buddhistic Upāsikā named Hitagarbhaghanā.

Phukrād or Phugrād.—The Tibetan word Phug means the solitary dwelling place of the Lāmās for the purpose of meditation; and Phugpa means "a recess in a rock, a cave." Hence-Phugrād means a Rādha 'country' abounding in recesses or caves for the meditation of the Siddhas. As the entire province of Mayurabhañja or for the matter of that, the hilly parts of it are known as Rādha to the people, it may not be unsafe to infer that Phukrad, in the above account, refers to the hilly tracts of Mayurabhañja interspersed with Siddha-guhās.

It is very likely that Palgada was but another name of the modern Pallahara, one of the eighteen Gadajāts or Feudatory States of Orissa. It is said that at one time the descendants of the Pala Kings reigned here; and the ruins of Buddhism. are still to be met with there in large numbers.

DISCOVERY OF A MODERN CHAITYA.

We should now try to find out the exact locality of the Haribhañja Chaitya, where Hitagarbha-Ghanā, the Buddhist Upāsikā, presided, where a vast number of Buddhist Cramaṇas lived and moved and many a religious book was read and taught, and where from far-off countries, students and observers flocked in large numbers to be initiated into the mysteries of the religion.

Both from the small Chaitya that has recently been discovered near Bodhipukhur in the village of Badasai, and the materials that can be gathered from the place, it appears to be very likely that the ancient Haribhañja Chaitya must have been situated somewhere near it. One will invariably see in Nepal that wherever there was a big chaitya, there was also a large number of smaller ones about it and built in imitation of it. Nepal the images of Ādi Buddha, Pañcha Dhyāni Buddha and Triratna (i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) are to be found enshrined in every Chaitya and by the side of each Chaitya are to be met with the statues of Hārīti and Čītalā. small Chaitva discovered near Badasāi is known to the Hindus as Chandrasenā. It is considered to have been either the prototype or the foundation of a larger one. The following lines well express the general import of the chaityas:-

"The chaitya may be regarded as the foundation on which the ecclesiastical architecture of the Buddhists is based, and as supplying the model from which nearly all their principal temples whether they be dedicatory, memorial or funeral, have been constructed."

Thus writes Dr. Oldfield about the Buddhistic chaityas of Nepal—

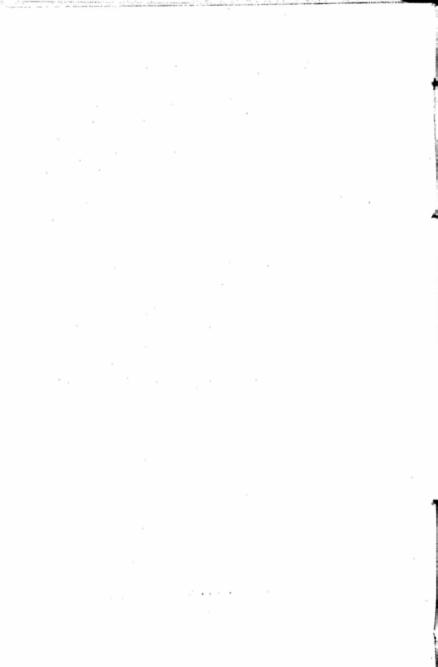
"In almost all chaityas of whatever size, small as well as large, round the base of the hemisphere there are four niches or shrines—one opposite to each of the four cardinal points—in which are placed seated figures of four out of the five Divine Buddhas—Aksobhya is enshrined in the eastern niche, Ratnasambhava in the southern, Amitābha in the western and Amoghasiddha in the northern. There is always a shrine to Vairochana."

In this model chaitya are to be found four figures in the four niches. They represent Aksobhya and three other Dhyāni Buddhas with their Vāhanas and Bodhisattvas. By the side of this chaitya is an image of Dharma. Similar figures are also to be met with by the side of the majority of the chaityas in Nepal. In the following passages the reader will find an accurate description of this figure of Dharma:—

"Dharma's figure is always that of a female with prominent bosoms, two of her hands are brought together in front of her chest with the points of the fore fingers and thumbs in contact as in the Dharmachakramudrā of Vairochana; in a third hand she holds either a lotus flower or else a book containing the scriptures or law of Buddha; and in her fourth hand she has a Mālā or rosary of beads."



Chandrasenâ or a modern chaitya from Badsât



"In a shrine at the Chillandeo temple, Kirtipur, the figure of Dharma, on the left of Buddha. has four hands of which two are empty, in the third is a book and in the fourth a rosary."

This description of Dharma is exactly applicable in the case of the figure found at Badasai. Another figure of a similar description—but with two hands,-was also found in the Mahā Bodhi at Gavā, bearing inscriptions of the 12th Century A. D. In his Virāta Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa is found to have said "भ्रमवर्ण इला मिक " i.e. 'Cakti or the creative power took the form of Dharma.' In Nepal she is also known as Guhvecvari. At Badasāi the figure of Çītalā is to be seen close by the image of Dharma. This practice of enshrining the figure of Cītalā in close proximity of that of Dharma is also followed in Nepal. "The goddess Cītalā was universally believed to afford necessary protection to all who sought her aid. The Buddhists accordingly recognised her divinity and besought her protection; they enrolled her among the list of their subordinate deities and erected a temple to her honour beneath the very shadow of the temple of Adi Buddha at Cambhunāth."

The existence of the model chaitya and the figures of Dharma and Çītalā afford us strong grounds for believing that at one time there was also a larger chaitya in the vicinity. These images had formerly been located in the close proximity of a tank, known as Bodhipukur, pro-

^{*} Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II.

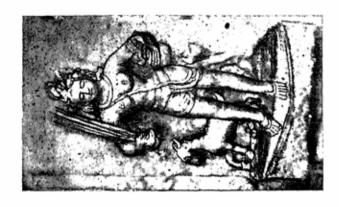
bably from the Buddhistic chaitya, and have only been recently brought into the village. Extensive corn-fields only are, however, to be seen now, rolling far and away from the embankments of the tank on all sides—no relics of the supposed ancient chaitya, no, not even a faint shadow of them, will now satisfy the longing gaze of the antiquary.

When the Tibetan pilgrim visited the country, the Bhañja Rājās had their capital at Haripur. From here Bodhipukur was only five miles off. Excepting the small chaitya and the image of Dharma that we came upon in the course of our exploration and antiquarian researches. Buddhistic relics of any kind, of a modern chaitva were to be found in the locality. So it will not be very wide of the mark to infer, we presume, that the Haribhañja chaitya referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim, existed somewhere near Badasāi,—and here it was that he met with a Dharma Pandita and received many In the course of our esoteric instructions. researches in the village we came across also some Oriva Mss. such as Siddhānta-dambara. Anākāra Samhitā, Amarapatala, and songs of Govinda Chandra, the great mendicant King of Bengal.

Thus these facts cannot but convince the most casual thinker that this place was once the centre of Buddhistic thought and activity.

Dr. Oldfield thus explains the views of the Buddhist Newars:—

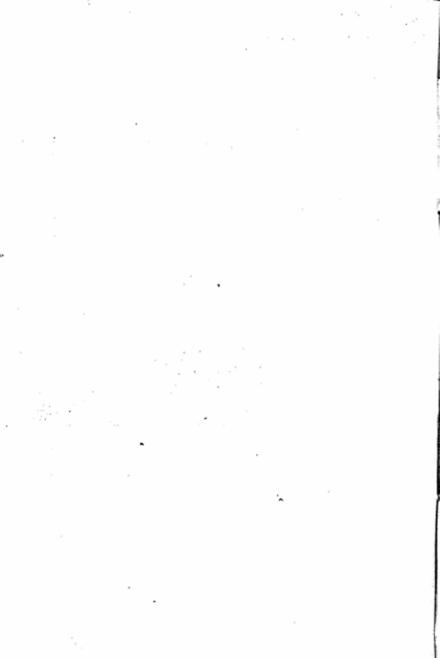
"The Materialists (i. c. the follower of the ancient Mahāyāna system) assign the first place



Citalû from Badsdi.



Dharma from Badsái



in their Trinity to Dharma, as the spirit representing matter, from which everything in heaven or earth originally sprung.

"They deify Dharma as a goddess, under the names of Adi-Dharma, Prajñā Devī, Dharma Devī, Ārya-Tārā; using any or all of these epithets as synonyms to signify the supreme, self-existent powers of Nature, whom they worship as the universal Mother, not only of all mankind, but of all the heavenly deities. All Buddhists are her children, and, therefore, all are brothers.

"The Materialists make Buddha subordinate to Dharma, and give him the second place in their trinity. They look on him as derived from Dharma, springing from her as a son from a parent, and then reacting upon her in some mysterious way, the result of which was the production of the Buddhas and of all other animated beings.

"Sangha, the Materialists regard as the type of all the forms of visible nature, which are produced by the creative power inherent to matter and which spontaneously result from the union and association of Dharma with Buddha."

In the course of our sojourn at Badasāi† we came to learn that once there lived a caste known as 'Yogis' there. They had in their possession several Mss. treating of the Dharma cult. Their professional duty was to sing songs relating to Rājā Govinda Chandra and the praises of

† Vide Report on Badasai.

Dr Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II, p. 96-97.

Dharma. From Badasāi they migrated to the Nilgiri where they are even now to be found. We happened to find here in the house of a poor rustic a Ms. entitled "The Songs of Rāja Govinda Chandra" by Kālabhārati. Formerly it was the the property of an old Yogi resident of the place. We do strongly believe that if a thorough and sifting search be instituted for the purpose at Badasāi and the surrounding places, similar important manuscripts can be recovered from oblivion and impending destruction.

We have said above that in the course of our exploration in Badasāi we have found the figures of Dharma and Citala only. Now it may reasonably be asked-How is it that the images of Buddha and Sangha are not included in the group, if the place was, as asserted, a centre of Buddhistic influence? On this point, some are of opinion that these were removed or destroyed by the Mahomedans or the Marāthās. What, however, appears to us to be a more reasonable explanation is that in course of time a greater importance came to be attached to Dharma, and Buddha and Sangha happened to be relegated to less important places. When Dharma came to be worshipped in form, she was considered to be superior to Buddha and Sangha by a sect of the Buddhists. Thus in Svayambhū-Pūrāna she is addressed as follows-

[&]quot;भूमतां भूमतां माता वुद्धमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता "॥ (३ ग्रः)

[&]quot;The mother, the void of the great void is spoken of as the Buddhamātā."

In the Uriya Ms. of Cūnya Samhitā by Achyutānanda Dāsa it is said—

"बुद्धमातात्रादिशक्ति मङ्कच्छन्ति कद्दि।" (१० ६४:)

"Thus I say, take refuge in Buddha, in Mātā Adicakti i.c. the primodial energy (Dharma) and. in the Sangha."

Why Dharma is still worshipped and why Buddha and Sangha have been entirely cast in the shade, are sufficiently explained in these passages. Brāhmanas are not allowed to officiate in the worship of the above Dharma, Cītalā or Chaitya; but worship is offered to these deities by the lower class of Dehuries. Formerly, only the Bathuries were in enjoyment of this privilege and even now they are sometimes seen to officiate as priests at the pujās of these deities. The day of the full moon in Vaiçākha is a sacred day of the Buddhists. Throughout the whole Buddhistic world, it is observed in connection with the nativity, the spiritual enlightenment and the Mahāparinirvāna of Buddha. And on this Vaiçākhi-Pūrņīmā day worship is also offered to the abovementioned Buddhistic Chaitya, Chandra-Senā, and a great festival is held. This practice has obtained for a long time past and is known in the locality as Udaparva. Some twenty to twenty-five thousand low class people muster there on the occasion, the Bathuris, of course, forming the majority. Dressed as Bhakats, they

That Chandra-sena is associated with Buddhism is unmistakably borne out by the Oriya poet Manohara Dasa in his Amarkosa Gita. See p. ccxxxvi.

celebrate the ceremony of the Chaitya-Pūjā, suffer themselves to be pierced without a murmur with a hook, and merrily and lustily swing on the Chadaka.

A very great enthusiasm prevails on the occasion. Sometimes even so large a number as two hundred Bhaliats vie with one another to have their bodies pierced with hooks-impelled by a strong and irresistible desire to have their vows to the effect literally fulfilled; a piece of cloth is then tied round their bodies over the pierced parts, and lustily do they enjoy swings on the Chadaka post planted for the purpose. Even the public in general regard this festival held once annually, as a highly holy and dignified one. Even the Brahmanas are second to no other castes in their regard and enthusiasm for this festival. Including, as it did, the worship of the images of the five divine Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, it was an object of great sanctity and veneration to the Buddhists. In Nepal too, a similar worship is offered in the places in which similar figures have been enshrined.

At Badasāi the Chaitya is worshipped only once a year viz., on the Vaicākhī-Pūrnimā day when the Udaparva is celebrated; but the case of Cītalā is quite different. For long she has been frequently receiving the worship of the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. The figure of Cītalā now passes there for that of Kalika, and for this reason even the Brahmanas feel no scruples in worshipping her. But generally the worship of this deity is entrusted to the low class Dehuris, .. who have been in return for this service long enjoying the benefits derived from the property endowed and set apart for the performance of the worship.

Beside this chaitya and the images of Dharma and Cītalā, there are also to be found near Rānibandh only 3 miles off from Badasāi, beautiful tigures of Khasarpana Lokegvara (Avalokitegvara) and Ārya Tārā, and also an image of Jāngulī Tārā, near Haripur. These are the only remnants, that have been recovered, of Buddhism, and in a place where only two centuries and a half before there flourished many a Buddhistic upāsaka and upāsikā, where there flocked Buddhist priests and laymen even from Tibet and other distant places to have a view of the famous chaitya which once stood towering there, and where many a student came to obtain esoteric instructions, undeterred by the difficulties and obstacles that would encounter him on his way.

We have remarked, while dealing with Dharma Gītā, that its author, Mahādeva Dāsa, flourished in the 17th Century. As one of the results of a critical study of his work, one has to come to the irresistible conclusion that like Rāmāi Pandit of Bengal, he also set his mind upon the extollation and promulgation of the glories and greatnesses, powers and potencies of Dharma as the sole object of his life. Though some minor differences may be observed in the histories of religious development in Rādha and Utkal due to differences in the natural constitutions of the two countries, the changes wrought upon them by time and the differences in the mental constitution of the people of the two provinces, extending over centuries, yet there can but be little doubt that originally these histories are but one and the same, just as much as the two branches of the same tree. And it seems to us that the Tibetan pilgrim referred to some such Pandit as this Mahādeva Dāsa the author of Dharma Gītā. Further, it also seems very likely to us that the esoteric works, referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim are nothing but the religious books composed by Balarāma, Jagannātha, Achyutānanda, Ananta, Yaçovanta, Chaitanya, Mahādeva and others of their stamp.

We find sufficient traces of the great sway which the doctrine of Cūnya, discussed above at some length, once exercised upon the minds of men in the religious literature of the poets and gentlemen who hallowed and sanctified Utkala in this century or the century after. A study of such works as the Mahīmanḍala Gītā of Arakṣita Dāsa, the Cūnyarāsa of Nāraṇa Dāsa, the Brahma-jñāna-Gītā of Paraçurāma Dāsa and the Nāma-Brahma Gītā of Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa will clearly convince any one of the truth of our assertion.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM.

We have learnt from the various religious books of Utkala of the 16th, the 17th and even of the 18th century, that many crypto Buddhists were then residing in various parts of the country. In the hills and the forests of the Gaḍajāts, they cherished the loving memory of their religion and made no secret of it amongst themselves, though, in society, they passed for devout Vaiṣṇavas. The Buddhist pilgrims of Tibbet and other far-off places who came on visits to India did, however, see through their veils and acknowledged them to be their co-religionists.

On this point, we have in the last Census Report, "In the 17th century Buddha-Guptanātha wandered in various parts of India and found Buddhism flourishing in many places. Then it is lost altogether. For two or three centuries Buddhism was absolutely unknown in India."

We cannot, however, fully subscribe to the above statement. There is ample evidence to show that even after the 18th century Buddhism

^{*} Census Report of Bengal, 1901, Pt. I., p. 203.

was not altogether a lost creed—the muchhonoured memory of Buddha was not altogether a forgotten thing in India. We find in the Amarakosa of Manohara Dāsa written only hundred years back, the following line:—

"ग्रर्ज्जुन बुद्ध हैले जीव परम हैले कृष्ण।"

"Arjuna i.c. Buddha is Jīva (the individual soul) and Kṛṣṇa is parama (i.c. the universal soul)."

While dealing with the Buddhist relics at Baḍasāi, we have noticed that there is a model Chaitya there, which is generally known by the name of 'Chandrasenā.' Of this Chandrasenā the same author says—

"चल्रसेना नामे सक दुयारि। घाट साधु श्रक्ति पण श्रावरि॥ ताहा सङ्कीयेवे परचे होड़। बुद्ध पाइले भितरक याड्॥"

"A door-keeper named Chandrasenā, who is also a tol-collector, is keeping watch upon the door. Any one, desirous of entering it, must make himself known to him. And if he be convinced that the visitor is a Buddhist, then and then only will he allow him admission."

Hence do we clearly see, that only so far as a century back the holy name of Buddha was on the lips of many crypto Buddhists who outwardly professed the Vaisnava creed; nay, they even recognised Buddha as Jīvātman or the individual soul.

From a careful study of the Buddhistic scriptures, whether of ancient or of much later

times, we do learn that the Buddhists never passed themselves for such, nor did they ever designate their faith as Buddhism. In every page of the history of their religion, they are found to have called it simply Dharma or at most 'Saddharma' or 'Saddharma', and to have styled themselves as 'Dharmin' or 'Saddharmin'. Following suit, the Utkala community of the veiled Buddhists has given the name 'Mahimā-dharma' to its creed and styles itself as 'Mahimā-dharmin.' Under the benign spirit of religious toleration and the noble and fostering spirit of freedom of thought inaugurated and scrupulously adhered to by the British Government, this community has begun, for over 40 years, to rouse itself up, to throw off its masks and to re-assert itself duly. We shall attempt to give below a brief history of its struggle for renascence.

For long these Utkala Buddhists had been cherishing the happy belief, handed down from generation to generation, that Buddha would again grace the world in flesh and blood for the diffusion of knowledge and the propagation of true religion. For over four hundred years such devout souls as Achyutānanda, Yaçovanta, and others had been singing of this. And we have it on the authority of the subsequent writers that their prediction has been literally fulfilled.

We have come to learn from 'Alekha-līlā,' a

^{ं &#}x27;'बन्दर चलेखत्रस महाभूनी स्थित । परत्रसस्तामी यार चरणे चर्काला।'' (चलिखलीला)

[&]quot;I make my obcisance to Alekha Brahman who dwells in the great void and at whose feet lies prostrate the Great Lord Para-Brahman."

religious book and also from the lips of many Mahantas of this sect that about 50 years ago Bhagavat Buddha came down into the world. The subject of his worship was the Alekha-Brahma or the Great Void, and his object, the deliverance of the world. At first Bhagavat Buddha blessed the village of Golāsingā in the State of Baud. Crī Jagannātha also left Nīlāchala and came down to join him there. When Jagannātha was granted the interview he sought for, he asked of Buddha, "Would you please enlighten me on the points which have filled my heart with misgivings? Under whose direction and why have you come down as Guru?" And he replied "Then hear me, O Jagannātha (Lord of the world)—Under orders of Alekha, the Formless, I have come here. He, and none else, is the Great Void—the Formless One without a begining—the Highest of Gurus. The Kali has manifested itself everywhere. It is to destroy sin of the Kaliyuga that I have undergone incarnation. Per-

[&]quot;येते वेले बुद्धामी मर्चे । विजे करी।
काहाल ये दोषा देद मर्चे विष्कि ॥
गुरुखामी ये मनरे जानिले घनायाँ मी ॥ प्र
एकाम्बरी बुद्धामी यून्यमार्थे नले ।
वल्द ये गोलां सिक्ता यामरे मिलिले ॥
बुद्ध्य ये, नवतन विश्व कले भीफारे ॥ ६
नीलांचल तिलिय ये नगन्नाय गले ।
गोलां सिक्ना मूमिर पाइ ये मठ कले ॥
रिइचिन ये, बुद्धामी याद्य मिटिले ये ॥ ७
नगन्नाय कहुक्ति युच्चामा गोंसाइ ।

mit me, please, to initiate you into the doctrines of the true religion; then for the good of humanity, go to Kapilāsa and remain stock-still in a trance" Upon this, he delegated all his powers to lord Jagannātha who, then, went away, as directed, to Kapilāsa in the Dhenkānal State. Here he came to be known by the name of Govinda. And here, for the good of humanity, he remained deeply absorbed in a trance for a period of full twelve years. His staple food, then, was simply a very small quantity of milk and fresh water. At the expiration of the trance, he descended from Kapilāsa, and for the propagation of the "Mahimā Dharma," blessed Bhīma Bhoi with 'the eye of knowledge' i.e. insight and self-Then he disappeared, none consciousness. knew whither, after having initiated into the true religion, many pious souls in Kapilasa, Khandagiri, Maninaga, and many other places.*

It is in many of the ancient religious books of Utkala that Jagannātha himself has been

तुभे के इ ग्रद्भ मोते जनात न जाह ॥

फेड़ि कह ये, ग्रिया मनु फिटिव सन्देह ये ॥ ८

बुद्ध सामी कड़क्कि ग्रिया जगद्भाष ।

पर्तेख प्राधारे घास होद छपगत ॥

महाज्य ये, पद्भ पनादि ग्रद्धामी से ॥ ८

किस्पाप भाष ये नाग हव समिति ।

पाभ तह पनिक प्रकारे कला यपित ॥

पापनाथ ये, किस्युग समयर हास ये ॥ '' १० द्रत्यादि

(प्रतेखकीला)

^{*} According to some Buddha Svāmin again started the religious cycle in A.D. 1864.

described as the incarnation of Buddha. In view of this, the above quotation may well lead one to question, how is it that Jagannatha, who was himself Buddha, was initiated by Buddha? The answer is not far to seek, if we will only take the trouble for it. Holders of this faith do never say that there was only one Buddha. Like the Mahāyānists of yore they also admit of a multiplicity of the incarnations of Buddha. And in support of their view they quote the following lines, quoted by us previously, the Nirguna-māhātmya of Chaitanya from $\mathrm{D5sa-}$ "बहुत बुद्ध ग्रवतारे। इरि जन्मिले ए संसारे।" "Many were the incarnations of Hari as Buddha."

We find a detailed narration of this in the Buddhist Jatakas. We have shewn before, in connection with our treatment of the Panchadhyāni Buddhas, that out of the lustre of the self-existent first Buddha came the Dhyāni Buddha; and out of the latter's came Bodhisattva. Dhyāni Buddha is engaged in a trance which is free from, and above, all illusions and doubts and it is Bodhisattva who fulfils and brings to realization all his wishes desires for the good of humanity. So may accept the Buddhasvāmin of Alekha-līlā as Dhyāni Buddha, and Jagannātha as Bodhisattva or Padmapāni.

And just as Çākya Buddha entrusted Ānanda with the task of propagating his 'Saddharma,' so Bodhisattva in the form of Govinda (Jagannātha) left the duty of propagating his Mahimā-dharma to his favourite disciple, Bhīma Bhoi.

Some of the adherents of this creed even hold that after Jagannātha had left Nīlāchala, he gave up his individual existence, and becoming one and the same with Buddhasvāmin in body and soul, went on with the task of more and more widening the circle of this religious movement. We find a detailed account in one of the scriptures of this sect, entitled Yacomatimālikā, as to when, why and how this movement was set on foot and carried on by Buddha; and we give just a glimpse of it to our readers by quoting at random from the same :-

(Garuda is addressing Jagannātha--)

"When wilt Thou that art the four-handed (Visnu) incarnate Thyself in the form of Buddha of whom you have just spoken?

"Hearing these words of Garuda the Lord replied, 'Hear me, O Lord of birds, I shall explain this to you in detail. But, bear in mind, what I am going to tell you is a very great sceret, and you must not open your lips to any body about it.' 4-6.

"Hear my child, I shall tell you all. I am anxiously waiting for the time when Kaliyuga will come to its close. In the forty-first year (of the reign) of Mukunda Deva, I shall give up

^{ं &#}x27;बुड चवतार रूप विद्यासी याहा । बेते वेले सेहिक्प इड्रम चौवाहा । ४

this life as Buddha and disappear altogether. And when I shall renounce this body, all the gods will follow suit, for Hari, Hara, Brahmā and myself are but one; and my soul will live in that of the Alekha. 133-136. Then assuming a form with the help of māyā, I shall pass for an avadhūta and be worshipping the lord Alekha. Then Kali will arrive there, complete in its four parts, and Brahman of great lustre, though nothing but the void, will assume a form and be born in the world. And this new god, the realiser of the wishes and desires of men, will visit Khandagiri, Manināga and Kapilāsa. And satisfying his hunger and thirst with fruits, leaves of trees, milk and water, will be playing his various illusive tricks, the wide world over. But none, man or god, will be able to know when he will be

गरूड़ वरन ग्राणि प्रभु वर्ती सीर।
ग्रण ताहा बुभाद किहवा पांचवर ॥ ५
भितिह गुपत कथा किह दीवा तीते ।
कांहि न कहिबु पहा बुभि याह चिते ॥ ६" ०० ० ०
"ग्रू कर नन्दन तीते देल भिक्त कहि ।
कलियुग भिष कतु थिबु वाट चाहि ॥ १०६
मुञ्जन्द देवक एक चालिभि भक्षरे ।
बुक्त पत्र तील थिबु गुपतरे ॥ १३४
भाभी येते बेली पिष्ड व्यक्ति हरे सत ॥ १०५
हरिहर ब्रह्मा एक भटरित सुंहि ।
निज भासा थिव सीर भलेखर तंहि ॥ १३६

born. 137-141. With the intention in his mind of playing a part with men upon the stage of the world, the Çūnyapuruṣa will undergo this incarnation—because the world will then be a hot-bed of vice and sin. Under my orders, many of his devotees have long been undergoing the pains of birth. In the incarnation as Buddha, he will play the rôle of Guru, preceptor, and will impart knowledge to and enlighten the minds of his disciples who will be known by the kumbhipaṭa (bark of a Kumbhi tree) they will put on.

142-144. But veiled as he will then be, few but Bhīma Bhoi, his quondam follower, will be able to recognise him. He will first sing

माया काया धरि चवधूत बुलाइबुं। चलीख प्रमुक्त भामा सेवा करि थिंद्य । १३७ चतर पादै कलि पासि बुढिलाक मधी। महातेज ब्रह्म छदे हीवे शूचदेही ।। १३८ नवकल्पटारु प्रभु खदे 🕈 थिवे। खळागिरि सणिनाग काविलास ठावे ॥ १३८ फल पत्रचीर जल करिया चाडार । खेल केलुविने प्रमुत्रधायके यांकर ।। १४० नर मनुष्य ये. पादि देवली का यार । नानि न पारिवे केहि प्रभुद्ध उदयै॥ १४१ सी भून्यपुरुष माने विचार ये काली। नर सङ्गं मधे खेला करितृ वक्ष्ले ॥ १४२ मद्राघीर पत्तक देव भवनीर। भक्ते जात इदक्ति पात्रःरे पास्पर ॥ १४३ बुख६प धार गुरुषपे भान देवे। कुलिपट देर वाना प्रकाम करिने॥ १४४

the praises of the Lord and will attain the position and honour of becoming one and the same with Çūnya of the Alekha-mandala. And thereafter, under the precepts of the Guru, pious men will sing the praises of the name of Mahimā—to their hearts' content." 145-147.

From the above quotation it is clear and evident that Jagannatha generally passed for Buddha till the 41st anka (year) of the reign of Mukunda Deva of Utkala. And we have learnt from the pen of the Tibetan Lāmā Tāranātha, a historian of Buddhism, that this Mukunda Deva was in reality a staunch and faithful worshipper of Buddha and was generally known by the name of "Dharma-raja." It was during his time that the notorious Kālāpāhāda carried on his formidable crusade against Hinduism and Buddhism; and it was with the close of his long reign that the Buddhists began to pass their lives in concealment and seclusion. Behind the temple which now generally passes as the Temple of Surya Nārāyana, and situated within the very precincts of the famous temple of Jagannatha, is a gigantic statue in stone of Buddha sitting in the Bhumisparca-mudra. Strange to say,

प्रतिह ये चौगरूप न विनिव कीह ।

पूर्वर भक्त ये विनिव भीम भी ।। १४५

ताल मुन्ने प्रमुद्धर भजन इद्भव ।

प्रतेख मच्छन पूर्वपद ये रहित ।। १४६

भक्त जने गाद ताहा परम सनीचे।

महिमा नाम गरिने गुर्व चेपेटीमें ।। १४६

(येमीमतीमाधि का)

a massive wall has been built up just in front of this statue, completely obstructing the view of it from outside. This statue, which could otherwise have spoken volumes of past history, has all along remained a sealed book to the majority of observers and visitors. We have, however, come to know, as the result of a very sifting investigation, that this temple dedicated to Buddha is much older than the chief temple of Jagannatha itself. It is not at all improbable that upon the close of the career of Raja Mukunda Deva, the obstructing wall was built up to hide the statue from the public eye; and it may also be the case that the tradition of the image of Jagannatha as Buddha being hidden from view dates its origin from this time.

MAHIMADHARMA OR NEW BUDDHISM.

The Brahmanic theory that when the pan of virtue is quickly kicked up, Bhagavat undergoes incarnation and comes down into the world to lighten the heavy burden of sin and vice, is also shared by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. So the belief in the birth and life of a Buddha is in no respect absurd or incongruous. followers of the Mahima dharma creed do indeed consider themselves blessed when they point to Khandagiri, Maninaga and Kapilasa as being the places where this new Buddha displayed. himself in all his glory and splendour.

In answer to any query as to the date of the commencement of this new religious movement under the name of Mahima-dharma or New

Buddhism, the followers of the creed recite the following few lines from Yaçomatī-mālikā :--

"दिव्यसिंद्देवह एकद्रश भहरी। १६० परिष्ट इद्रव जात ए किस्युगरी।। १६० जनविश्र भहुकु ये ग्रंण भारे वौर। भितिह प्रवत युद्ध इद्रव निकर।। १६८ एकचाह्मिश्र भङ्गरे हेव समापत। चौवन से पुन एक घर्या सत्य।। १६८ नौच जुली भक्त जुला हुयान से जात। भलेख नामकु ग्रंण इद्रवे भाष्यत।" १००

"In the twenty-first anka (year) of the reign of Divya-Simha Deva, will a very sad event occur in the Kali-yuga, and in the twenty-ninth year a very terrible war will break out, as sure as anything, and will end only in the forty-first year—re-establishing the only true religion The devotee of this new creed, though of mean extraction, will, we hear, be in the special good graces of Alekha."

Thus we learn that the revival of Buddhism in the name of Mahimā-dharma took place in the twenty-first year of the reign of Divya-Simha, late King of Puri, i.e. in 1875. It was in this year that the devout Bhīma Bhoi, whose words were inspired, most solemnly declared to the world the truth and greatness of the Mahimā-dharma. And we have heard from the lips of the preceptors of this sect that it was about this time also that a large number of books, evidently written to establish the truth and high character of the religion, was discovered underground

inside a large closed copper vessel. Chief amongst these are the works of Jagannatha, Balarama, Achyutananda, Yacovanta and Chaitanya Dāsa.

THE SCRIPTURES OF MAHIMA DHARMA.

The reader will surely be interested to learn. in this connection, the names of the books that are held as the greatest scriptures by these followers of the Mahima-Dharma. These are-1, Visnugarbhapurāna and Nirguna Māhātmya by Chaitanya Dāsa: 2, Chhattiṣā or Gupta Gītā by Balarāma Dāsa; 3, Tulābhinā by Jagannātha Dāsa and 4, Cūnya-Samhitā and Anādi-Samhita by Achyutānanda Dāsa.

BHIMA-BHOI ARAKSITADASA.

We are conscious that before proceeding further, our first and foremost duty is to give here a brief account of Bhīma Bhoi, who is not only the leader but is almost the propagator of this renascence. We find the following autobiographical sketch in his own Kali Bhāgavata:-

Born blind, Bhīma Bhoi came of the low Kanda family and first saw the light of the day in the village of Juranda in the Dhenkanal State. His full name was Bhīma Sena Bhoi Araksitadāsa. He managed to earn his livelihood by husking the corn and doing other menial works for his neighbours, but he always uttered the name of the Lord, and had his mind concen-

trated upon His thought. And thus were passed about the first twenty-five years of his life. At length, tired of the heaviness of his life, and extremely grieved that the Lord had not yet taken pity upon his wretchedness, he determined to put an end to his life. With this end in view, he set out from his cottage and in the course of his wanderings dropped down into a well. Here he passed three days and three nights. Hearing of this, the villagers flocked to the scene of occurrence and tried to pursuade him by all the means in their power to give up the determination of sacrificing his life; but he turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties. At length the Lord took pity upon him and at the end of the third night He assumed His own form and standing upon the brink of the well addressed Bhīma Bhoi in an affectionate tone. The latter told him of the griefs that were gnawing at his heart; whereupon the Lord asked him to look up and behold Him. And when in obedience to this, he turned his eyes up, the born blind saw above his head, in flesh and blood, the object of his loving adoration standing in all His glory! His whole heart was overflowing with veneration. The Lord extended His hand towards him; he seized it firmly and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself standing side by side with his god. The Lord said, "You have obtained this interview by virtue of your prayers to me. Now I ask you to go abroad, and to publish and spread my favourite religion Alekha Dharma." He then gave him a long flowing garment called 'Kaupīna' and a belt with the following instructions, "You are to accept

only alms of boiled rice for yourself. Take care that you never ask for or accept rice or anything else. And thus keeping together your body and soul with the boiled rice that you will get, vou are to propagate the Mahimā-dharma." Then scrupulously following the directions of his Lord, he put on the kaupina, went to an adjacent village and begged alms. The owner of the house came out rice in hand, but he declined to accept this, and said "Just give me boiled rice sufficient for myself alone." The villagers heard of this, laughed at the queer idea and thought "What religion is this that aims at the abolition of the time-honoured caste-system, by making its followers live upon alms of boiled rice, irrespective of the caste or creed of the giver!" They then conferred together and determined that this new religion, a much dreaded leveller of castes. should be allowed no room whatsoever in the village. And they translated their resolution into practice by beating him off the village. Bhīma Bhoi got enraged at this, cast off his kaupina and belt, and proceeded towards Kapilasa. When he had gone half way, he met with his Lord. On hearing of the intentions of Bhima Bhoi, the latter got extremely offended and exclaimed, "You have not as yet attained siddhi. I suspect, or why should you take to your heels after you have been beaten?" He then bound him fast with ropes and brought him back to Juranda; and shut him in a temple. Then all the openings were closed and he said aloud "I shall clap thrice, O Bhima Bhoi, and, if you have attained Siddhi, you will be able to come out."

The Lord then sat down at the foot of a tree close by. He clapped thrice, and lo! Bhīma was standing before his preceptor again. At this the latter grew much pleased and said "I am satisfied now that you have attained siddhi. Now then I ask you to stay on in this place, to write verses about my religion and thus to spread it. You have no further need of wandering over the world." Bhīma Bhoi then married in compliance with the wishes of his preceptor and attended to all the household duties of man; but the underlying principle of his life was the propagation of his religion. To effect this he wrote several poetical works, the foremost being his Kali Bhāgavata, and composed many charming hymns (Bhajana-padāvali). In connection with our detailed treatment of the Mahimadharma hereafter, a few of these poems have been quoted in extenso, so we abstain from reproducing any here.

Ere long the fame of Bhīma Bhoi spread far and wide. Hearing his immortal instruction helping in the attainment of real knowledge and illumining the head and the heart, the mighty pillars of the caste system forgot themselves and stooped at his feet, though the blood of the low Kanda ran in his veins. They considered him to be a spark from the Eternal Flame of truth and knowledge and flocked around him like flies around a burning lamp. And then, before several years had elapsed, the Mahimā-dharma could count its followers by thousands. Bhīma Bhoi had heard a voice from heaven to the effect that with the revival of the Mahimā-dharma the

hidden state of Jagannatha as Buddha would again be brought to light. To have this statement realised and firmly believing in it, he did now call upon his numerous disciples to come and join their forces with him. Fired with the zeal of devotion and piety, they madly obeyed his call and mustered strong under his standard. Indeed the most prominent part in the war, of which we read so much in Yacomatī-mālikā and which, we are told, occurred in the 29th anka, of the reign of Divyasimha Deva of Puri,-the most prominent part in these wars was played by Bhīmā Bhoi himself. Having equipped themselves, as best as they could, with the weapons of war, the people of about 30 villages marched upon Puri under the leadership of their preceptor. The news of their advance had already reached Puri, and the Raja with his personal guards, was waiting to receive them duly. It was rumoured that the object of the Kumbhapatiā invaders was to burn the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā and spread the doctrine of Nirākāra among the people of Puri. No little consternation was caused by this. But the Rājā was determined to fight to the last; and he was reinforced by a body of police officers from Pipli. No sooner had Bhīma Bhoi set his foot within the limits of Puri than both the parties fell upon one another, and a fierce fight ensued. The holy city of Puri became polluted with the blood of the heroes of both sides. At length Bhima Bhoi became convinced of the unrealizable character of his ambition, and so proclaimed amongst his warring

disciples that the avoidance from doing any harm to others was the first principle of religion; and so they should not commit sin by injuring others. He did further announce that Jagannātha had already left Puri in the guise of Buddha and he now understood that it was not Buddha's intention that his image be brought to light again. What, then, was the necessity for continuing this bloody and sinful fight? Upon this instruction falling from the lips of their leader, the Mahimā-dharmins took to flight. Some of them were, however, captured by the enemy and imprisoned, and some were transported for life on charges of murder by the British Government.* At this juncture Bhima Bhoi declared that no true religion had ever been established without self-renunciation and So the followers of Mahimāself-sacrifice. dharma should not mourn the loss of those who had suffered persecutions at the hands of the infidels; they should rather bless and ennoble themselves by cherishing their stainless memories.

After this, for fear of persecutions by the Government they took shelter in the hills and forests of the Gaḍajāts of Utkala.

In Yaçomatīmālikā we find the following reference to those followers of the Mahimādharma that were the first to embrace it or that in any way helped in propagating it:—

Various false statements about this sect were made by the English and Vernacular papers of the time.

"I shall tell you, my son, the names of some of those followers who lived in the south. There is a trader in the circle of Padmapur, whose name is Hari Sāhu. He has married two girls of his own caste. You will know him easily; he is a devoted follower of mine. 193-195. In the east is Kuntibhoja bearing the name of Yogaraja. He will at first marry a girl of the Gargara line. but she will soon pass off to that heaven which is the region of the Gandharvas. He will then marry a girl of the Simha family of Dhala-bhuma. 196-197. Inside her womb will be found, in the form of a lily, the footprints of Laksmi and out of that lily will be born the girl Visnupriya. When her father Yogarāja will be inspired with religious fervour, all the other devotees will also be so inspiredso great is the attachment between him and the souls of the devotees. When he will give up the ghost, he will lose himself in Brahman and will be unified with the west. The number of his

[&]quot;दिचिण दिगरै छन्ति येतेका भकत। तादः नाम किछ् तीतं कहिविरे.सृत !। १८३ पद्मपर मण्डलरे एक महाजन। इरिसाह विलिख ये थिव तार नाम ॥ १८४ विभा है थिव वेधी कन्या स्वजातिर। चिनिधिय वड भक्त चटे से चासर ।। १८५ पूर्वे कुलिभोज योगराजा नाम वहि। प्रचमे गार्गर वंश विभा देव से दि ॥ १८६ से कान्या गन्धर्व्वस्वर्भपुर चिला विवा धलदेशे सिंइवंशे पुनि विभा हेवं॥ १८७

followers has completed two lacs. 198-201. I shall now tell you of him who dwells in the north. His name is Rūparāja, and he has sprung from the Kṣatriya line. 202. And now I tell you of those who live in the east. There is only one in Bengal. But there is also a king named Sabhānanda. He has married five wives with eyes like those of the gazelle. When he will marry again a girl of the Ganga family, he will be a devout follower of my religion and firm in his faith. 203-205. Both he and Jaya Sāhu, a Teli of the Ghāyā class, will live about the borders of Prayāga. And there are in Ganḍakī the great

सच्ची बर प्रचित्र तार समें विदः। विचापिया कन्या से पद्मक नात हैव॥ १८८ तार पिता योगराजा ग्रुचर नन्दन। से चैतिले चेतिने चाहरि मन्नमान ॥१८८ निज पाच सङ्घेभक्त चटद से टान। भवधारी इत्य चालु विव भृत्यवद्या ।। २०० पश्चिम दिगरे ताकु मिशादवे सुत। पुरिक्ति प्रभुद्धर दुइ सच भक्त ॥ २०१ उत्तर दिग६ भन कहि देवा ग्रच। कपराज विख घवकुलरे जनम ॥ २०१ पूर्व्वदिके भक्त तीते कहि दैवाफीड्र । एकाला प्रवर्त्त ठारु बङ्गदेशी याद्र ॥ २०३ सभानन्द विलागी एक राजा पकि। पांच गुठि विभा भीद्रविव से सगाची ॥ २०४ ए गङ्गवंगरी विभा श्रीद्रश्चिव शेवी। नानितुसी प्रभुद्धर हदभक्त तेवै॥ २०५

hero Bhuja Sena and the devout Kamalia Malik, a Pathān by caste. 205-207.

"These seven have linked together two hundreds of thousand devoted followers. To hear this, my child, makes the mind pure and free (from lust and passion). 208. Cridhara of the unclean caste, Crikantha of the Bhoja lineage, and Keçava, Nitāi, Gunanidhi, Mārkanda and Crīchandana of other castes—these seven devotees brought together two hundreds of thousand devoted followers, 209-211. These devotees will assemble themselves, male and female, in the presence of the lord, and there divert themselves by playing eternal plays with him, and their voices will be ringing in the

> जयसाह बलिए ये घाया नामी तेलि। ए दद थिवे प्रधाग सीमान्दि मिलि ॥ २०६ गळकौरे सुजसेन वडिया पठान । कमिध्या सिव्वकरि भक्त श्रीमान ॥ २०७ दुइ लच भक्ष ए सातकु निशाइण। निर्माल सनरे प्रचि यायरे नन्दन ॥ ३०८ श्रीधर बलिख से प्रमुघ जातिरे। भोलबंगे जात इव श्रीकष्ठ नामरे। २०१ केशव निवाद गणनिधि नाम भक्त । मारकेख श्रीचन्दन चाहरि भकत ।) ११० एते जन मित्रिण ये दुइ खच भक्त। चेचपूर्व षटद से डाइनिया भना।। २११

twenty-one regions. 212-213. The lord will place the four Vedas in Pātāla (the infernal regions) and will introduce and establish the Çūnyadharma based upon anasādhanā." 214.

The author of Yacomatīmālikā has, no doubt, been lavish in his praises of the heroes of his sect, but the persons, he speaks of, are not all fictitious, as is testified to by one and all of this sect. Such a hint as this has also fallen from the lips of many that there are now not only descendants of some of these great men, but that they are practically helping, though in secret, the promotion and propagation of this creed. The pioneer and leader of this sect, Bhīma Bhoi, breathed his last only ten years back. His sons are now occupying the gadi at Juranda. In various parts of the Gadajāts one will meet with members of this community even now. But the chief gadi is at Jurandā near the Kapilāsa hill in the Dhenkanal State (Bhima Bhoi used to sit here; and now it is in the occupation of his sons). The next important place is the Badamatha in the village of Golācingā within the Baud territory. It is the local belief that after he had left

एते भक्त रुख ईवे प्रमुख गहने।
पुरुष को निश्चिष प्रमुख सित्धाने॥ २१२
पनना खेल करिवे प्रमुख सङ्गरे।
प्रवद शोभिव ताङ एकदम पुरे॥ २१३
पारि वेद घर्म प्रमु पाताली चापिव।
पनसाधनारे ग्रमध्यं दौचा दिवे॥ २१४ (यशोमतीमालिका)

the Nīlāchala, Jagannātha lived here as Buddha. Beside these, Mayurabhañja is interspersed with mathas of this sect. In the villages of Kulogi, Koipur, Jaypur, Purnāpāni, Kendari and Purniā in the subdivision of Bāmanghāți; at Merughāți in Uparabhāga, in the village of Kesnā in Pānch Pir, in Upper Dihi and in the village of Gandu in Joshipur; in Navāpūrā, Puraņā Bāripadā, Tālapadā and others in the Mayūrabhanja Proper, there is a large number of monasteries, big and small, of this sect. mathas are also to be found in a large number outside Mayūrabhañja. In about 20 to 25 villages in Keonjhar, viz., Sildā, Padampur, Rāŋgāmātiā, Pukhuria, Sarai &c, in almost all the Gadajāts such as Dhenkānāl, Baud, Dasapallā, Tālcher, Conapur, Gāngpur, Pālalaharā, Rairākhol, Athamālik, Padampur, Sārangagada, Rāyagada, Kalāhandi, and in almost all the Killājātas, more especially in Ali, Kanikā, Bānki, Adang, Kujang, Sambalpur,-in all these places monasteries of this sect are to be found. The followers of this creed are divided into two classes viz., Grhī (house-holder) and Bhiksu or Sannyāsin. Almost wherever any large number of the followers of this sect have settled together, a small but neat and clean matha will attract the notice of the traveller. Amongst the Uda-sinas (those who are indifferent to the ups and downs of life) only the most advanced are entitled to be the Mahanta i.e. the head of the monastery. Common Udāsinas or Bhikṣus find shelter in these monasteries. Amongst the members of this community, numbering not less

than 25,000, there are to be found people both of the higher and lower ranks of society.

MONASTIC LIFE.

The rules that regulate their monastic life are defined with some degree of clearness in the following lines:

—

"The Sujāti (well-born Bhikṣu) will discard all family usages and give up all (religious) practices and observances, such as the performance of sacrifices and the making of burnt offerings. 148. Cutting off all connection with his wife and children, leaving behind his property and doing away with all religious vows and ceremonies, he will put on barks of kumbhi trees (kumbhipaṭa) and wander about with matted hair. 149. He will sow the seed of (the religion of) Mahimā in Jambu-dvīpa and will himself be blessed by finding his spiritual preceptor, Brahman. 150. Learning the name of Anākāra Mahimā (and singing His glories) he will maintain himself by begging alms of the Nava Cudras. 151. From

[&]quot;सुनाति ये जुलध्यं समस क्। दिवे। हो सकर्य यान क्रिया सकलं लिन ॥ १४८ हारासुत विचन्नत क्रिया खान्य करि। जुन्मियट पिखि ग्रिरे चिने नटाचरि॥ २४८ नम्ब्दीपे महिसाद बीज सं बुनिने। निज न्ना गुरु पाष्ट्र खानन्द क्रिने॥ १५० पनाकार महिसा नामकु करि ग्रिचा। नन गुरु घरिसानि खेलु दिने क्रिचा॥ १५१

⁽¹⁾ Hence they are called Kumbha-Patiya.

Telīs, Tantris, Bhāṭas, Kerās, Rajakas, Kulārakas, Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas and Chandālas, no alms are to be taken. They have been described before in the Castras as impure. 152—153. These are of low origin and so have been marked out. 154. But the Nava Cūdras are really faithful followers of the Lord. So it is no sin to accept alms of boiled rice at their house. 155. By the great fire of the spirit of Brahman all (sins) are reduced to ashes (i.e. sinners are absolved); (so) he who begs alms from the house of a Cudra, commits no sin 156. * * * * *

"No other alms (than boiled rice) are to be taken from the house of the nine Cudras. And sleep has to be enjoyed in the proper time outside the town. 160. Death resides in the sleep which is slept in the day; and boiled rice par-

> तेली तन्त्री भाउ केरा रजक कुखारक । ब्रद्धाचित्री चच्छाल ये चाब्रदिला पिका॥ १५३ एडि नव जाति घरै भिचान धैनिवै। चग्रज्ञ ए माने शास्त्रे लेखिया कि पूर्वे ॥ १५३ ए माने चत्रित चधाल नाक जातकि । तेनुकरि नद भूट्टे वाकि रखिक कि ॥ १५४ नव जुद्र चटन्ति प्रभुद्ध निज दास । ताबर घरेच ब्रह्मिचान लगाइदीय ॥ १५५ महाब्रह्मतेजरे ये इह याह भवा। गृद्र घरे भिचा कले नाहि साङ् दुख ॥ १५६४ ∗ नव गृद्र घरे चत्र भिचातः भूजिये। नगर वादारे बाख निद्राज काटिवे॥ १६०

taken at night is productive of evil. 161. The devotee of the Lord will take his food at day-time and pass the night without food and keep awake at dead of night. 162.

"Keeping awake at dead of night, you will kindle the *dhuni* (fire-pit) and thus you will be able to destroy the twenty-five causes (of creation). 230. Mutterings of prayers and set forms of meditation are useless. Only try to be indifferent (to the worldly concerns) and contemplate only the name of Mahimā." 231.

These ascetic rules (quoted from Yaçomatī-mālīkā) for regulating the monastic life among the followers of Mahimā-dharma are also found to have obtained in the Buddhistic Sangha from very early times.

Of the twelve or thirteen ascetic rules mentioned in the Buddhistic scriptures the Mahimādharmin monk has even up till now been observing the rules of Pinḍapātika, Sapadāna-

दिवसरे निद्रा कले काल कर गास ।
राचे भन्नभीजन भाषारे हय दीय ।। १६१
प्रभुद्धर भन्न ये दिवसे भुद्धिते ।
राते छपवास यमकालुकु निर्मित्र । १६२
निश्चि छजागरे रिष्ट धूनि कि जगिलु ।
पश्चित्र प्रकृति तेवे पात्र करिलु ॥ २६०
नप नाहि तप नाहि छदासौ भावरे ।
एका महिमाकु नाम जिप्तु हिदरे ॥ २३१ (यशोमतीमालिका)

^{1.} This is "the rule to live on food obtained by begging from door to door."

chārika,² Ekāsanika,³ Pattapindika,⁴ and Khalu-pacchādbhaktika;⁵ but these are never found to have ever been observed by Vaiṣṇava monks or ascetics or those of any other sect. Besides, the injunction of taking alms of boiled rice from the Nava Çūdras clearly marks these Mahimā-dharmins out as quite distinct and aloof from the Vaiṣṇava or any other Hindu sect. The latter will, on no account, partake of boiled rice which has been cooked by Çudras or other low caste people.

Although Mahāyānists of the middle ages had yielded to the worship of a number of gods and goddesses, yet the Ādi Buddhists or the Hīnayānists had no faith whatsoever in the efficacy of these worships. And such is also the case with the modern Revivalists or Mahimādharmins. Nay, they follow the Hīnayānists more closely. As a sequel to the introduction of the worships of the sun and fire into the primitive Buddhist society, the Hīnayānists have not been able to throw off these deities altogether, though they have done away with the worships of others. And it is very interesting to note that in the Yaçomatī-mālikā of the Mahimā-dharmins, linger-

^{2.} A rule, enjoining "a proceeding from door to door in due order when begging."

^{3.} It enjoins "eating at one sitting."

^{4.} It enjoins "eating from one vessel only."

^{5.} It prohibits "the taking of a meal after it has become improper to do so; this has been interpreted as partaking of food already refused and superfluous."

ing traces of this faith are also to be met with. And just as the Buddhists of the middle ages regarded Buddha or Bodhi-sattvas as being 'Devātideva' i.e. God of gods, the Mahimādharmins also look up to Jagannātha or Buddha as being the greatest and most supreme object of worship'

We have also heard with no small surprise the essential principles of the instructions of Lord Buddha that are known in the Buddhistic circle as Dhammapada, fall from the lips of the greatest Sannyāsins of this sect. To satisfy the curiosity of the reader, let us quote here a few

> अ "वियो चिड़ि राव घाए कान कर्क् घिते! छदे पस रिधरक दर्भन करिते॥ १७१ पस वेसी सिद्ध परि दस्के माव याद्र। नमस्कार कर्क घिते पसी गिर घ्याद्र॥ १७२ पग्रिदेवतासु किहि पस्ते मानुधिते। पन्य देव देवो तिद्धि किहि ना मानिते॥" १७३

"A little before dawn you will take your bath and see both the rising and the setting of the sun. 171. Just after sunset you will fix your mind upon and bow to the Astagiri (the mountain behind which the sun was supposed to set.) 172. You should have some respect for the god of fire but not any the least respect for any other god or goddess. 173."

ं "सर्व्वदेवता च वीधिसालस्य पादशीर्नपितता। तती राजा ग्रह्मोदनेन वीधिसाली देवतानामव्यश्चे देव इति तेन वीधिसालस्य ईवातिदेव इति नामधेशं कतम्।"

"All the gods also fell down at the feet of Bodhi-sattva. The king Cuddhodana said "This Bodhi-sattva is the God of gods" and thus the name Devâtideva was given to Bodhi-sattva."

couplets from the Padāvali of Bhīma Bhoi, the principal scripture of this sect.

The following song was sung by him addressing the Çünyapuruşa'—

"Though Thy body is Çūnya being destitute of all forms and colours, yet Thou hast revealed Thyself. There is there no trace of a cloud, still there are showers of water (from above); no wind, but all the forty-nine kinds of it are blowing furiously and frequently. Water is (found) flowing, though there are no rivers, and there are (also) meteoric showers. 1. There are there frequent flashes of lightning, but no one closes his eyes. In such a place is the abode of the unborn Brahman. There is here no rising or setting (of

^{(1) &}quot;श्रूच-देशी क्रिन छद शोद रुप रेख नाहि है। (घोषा)

वरसुचि जल, नाहि मेधकुल, न बाद पवन, छनचास्वाद वह घन घन।

वर्ष्यकि जल, नाहि नदीकूल, उलकपात धारा शोद है।। १

जक जक छदा ग्रिकला शीदकि, कपाट न फेटू नेवरे दिस्कि,

से ठारे पात्रम चनुदित ब्रह्म, उद्गालल क्र्लि कूपजले साथ,

लिस मुकति न बुड़िव जाति, पूर्व पुख्य थिली पाद है।। १

नियंदरा पद निष्कृमि निर्वेद, कल्पना ना किर धर पद्मपाद,

न वाल्कित दिष न करा भन्न ग्री भाग्ना भरसा न दिहि है।। ४

क्राद्म पड़िभकि नाहि इचमूल, पुष्प कड़ नाहि फलिचकि फल,

फ्रिक्टि पतर हिम्म नाहि तार भन्नावना मार्ग पाद है।। १

पति पत्नो द्विप करित युगल, दिस्म नाहि पित्यिक वक्ल,

से प्रभु पयरे सेव निरन्तर, मंग्नी भीमसेन भोद्र है।। ६"

the sun.) 2. There is here no sand or earth and the waters of the Gangā are overflowing. But if I can worship (Him) even with the waters of a well, I shall obtain salvation without losing the caste which I have come to possess through the merits of the previous life. 3. Without conceiving the Eternal Feet as attainable (only) through works done without any thought of or desire for the results and indifference (to the world), cling to the lotus-like feet (of Brahman). No need of condemning wishes and desires, no need of making one's self destitute (of all hopes and passions) and no need of giving up all hopes and expectations. 4. Shade without the tree, the fruit without the bud, and the flower and the leaf without the stalk-all these are talks of (people who follow) the way of Asadhana (non-worship). 5. He manifests Himself by creating the couple of the husband and the wife, and puts on barks of trees having no end of the senses. And so Bhima Sena Bhoi requests all, always to worship the feet of the Lord who is so great. 6."

These lines were addressed by Bhīma Bhoi to his Guru or preceptor Buddha-svāmin."—

"O Thou, that art the formless and imageless Brahman, Thou art now revealing Thyself having

^{(2) &}quot;बनाकार भड्प ब्रह्म-मुरित है। एवं विजे करिक्रिन धरितों है॥ (पट)
भट्प पुरुष रूपवन्त होइले, ब्रह्माकुड बाइले,
भक्त हितकारों कड्या ब्रपाधारी, मायासिलुसागर एवं स्थार करि,
पिक्टप्रायल देंद्र कर भक्ति है॥ १
ध्राभिका पुरुष नामकु वहि, रचा निमके मही,

assumed a form. Though the Formless Person, You are now possessed of a form and have come down to the world to do good to Your devotees, being full of kindness and mercy. Now be pleased to save the pindaprana from the ocean of mava and fill it with devotion. 1.

"Though the Unknowable Purusa, You are now bearing a name for the purpose of saving the world. When a man will live upon the juice of Mahimā-dīkṣā (initiation into the Mahimādharma) brought about by indifference (to the world) and thus will free himself from the sins of his previous births, then will he attain, O my Lord, salvation—the end of the Virtuous, 2.

"The Indefinable Purusa has made himself known by coming down as a guest (as it were, into the world). The glory of Alekha is simply indefinable; He, who is the Lord of the twentyone worlds, can be reached only through the kindness and favour of the Preceptor. 3.

"The Unimaginable Purusa through His imagination had limbs grown to Him. You see Him with your eyes; yet by despising Him who

निर्व्यदर प्रकाश, महिमा दीचा रस, भिंज येवे पारिय कोव पूर्व्य बाजाब, तिवी पादव सदगति सुकति के ॥ ए श्रीवह पुरुष से ये चिक्तिवा देले, बापे बातिथि हेले. षत्रेख पद जेह लेखि न डीड सेहु, गुरु पये शकता अटन्ति सहावाहु, एकुद्रम स्वने सेह न्पति है ॥३ चकल्पन पुरुष से कल्पन कर्ल, चङ्ग सर्वे जनसिनी,

is it that you are worshipping? Know that this world is still existing only because there is the Mahimā-dharma. 4.

"The Imperishable Purusa, He is never to perish; and not only He, but Guruvija and the disciple, these two also are never to perish. All the days do pass in great bliss, the very sight of Guru destroying all evils. 5.

"In this dark Kaliyuga He has revealed Himself to the world, having assumed a form. Save this there is not a single word, so grand, so sweet and so capable of redemption. With great humility does Bhīma Arakṣita bow down at the feet of the Lord, which can confer emancipation. 6."

INCARNATION OF BUDDHA.

We have now been able, we hope, to establish the fact that the Mahimā-dharmins of the Gaḍajāts of Orissa are simply Buddhists. Like other Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School, they are also passing their days in the firm belief and hope that Buddha will again be incarnated. We

चाज से करतांतु नेवरे देखु देखु, निन्दित कर चच्छ भलुमच्छ का प्राकु, एवे मधिमा-धर्म चिक्त पिरिथि है॥ ४

भव्य पुरव चय हैवाकु नाहि, एकु नहि दुइ ब्रह्माको गुरवीने शिष्य नाहानि निहि वह हि मा पथे सक्वें दिन याउकि हि, गुरुद्यं ने खख काल विपति है। प्र देश्थारी होइक्कि महीस्कले, ए घीर कलिकाले,

[े] प्रना प्रकाचर वाना हि वीरवर, यथन सुधाधार सुक्तिदानी पयर, भये भीम भरचित करि विनित है॥ ६''

could not do better than quote the following few lines from their Yaçomatīmālīkā to show their belief in the incarnation of Buddha and the real nature of their creed—

> "चाहि कलिमध्यरे भकते क्रिन्त रहि। बुद्ध अवतार स्प दर्भन ना पाइ॥ १९० विद्यारम्थ्डले अन्यगादि तुलाइवे। से अलेख प्रभु धुनिकुर्ण्ड गुप्त चिवे॥ १०० मायासपे बुद्ध अवतारे नरदेही। भक्तजन हिते भक्त लद्धारिवे पाइ॥ १००

"In the Kaliyuga the devotees are passing their lives in disguise, though they have not yet seen the form of the incarnation of Buddha, in the hope that the gadi (seat) of the Çūnya will be established in the province of Behar and there the Lord Alekha will lie concealed in the Dhunikuṇḍa (fire-pit). The Alekha will through His creative power, assume the form of a human being in the incarnation of Buddha for the good of His devotee, who will thus attain emancipation".

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